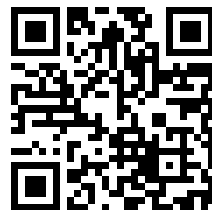
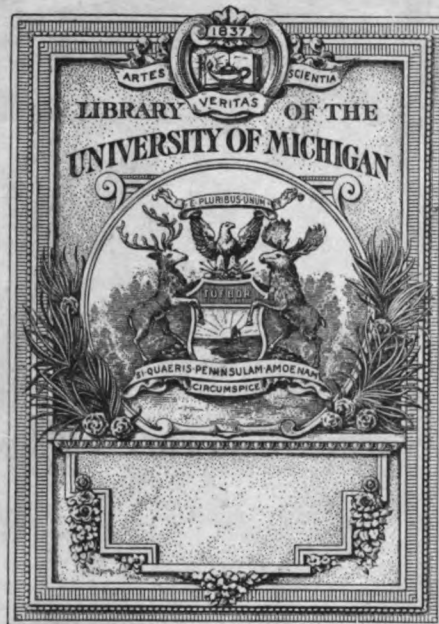

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THE
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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
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SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
(CONTINUING HEBRAICA)

VOLUME XXVIII

OCTOBER, 1911

NUMBER 1

THE K TEXT OF JOSHUA

BY MAX L. MARGOLIS
Dropsie College

1. With the letter K is designated Codex Tischendorfianus II of the Leipzig University Library which the famous discoverer of the Sinaiticus brought home from his first oriental trip in 1844. It consists of 22 palimpsest leaves of which 17 contain in uncial script under an Arabic text biblical fragments from Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges. Not only were some of the leaves in a bad condition, but the margins of most of them had been cut off or otherwise mutilated in the process of their employment as bindings for other codices. The fragments which Tischendorf assigned to the seventh century at the latest were published by him in the first volume of his *Monumenta sacra inedita, nova collectio*, 1855; the leaves containing all that is left of the Book of Joshua are found on pp. 161-70.

2. On the text of codex K Tischendorf expresses himself as follows (p. xxxiii of his Introduction): "Ipse vero textus horum fragmentorum admodum peculiaris et gravis est, a Vaticano quidem textu satis diversus neque magis vero simillimus Alexandrino. Inprimis discedit a Vaticana editione pariter atque ab Alexandrino

codice per libros Iosuae et Iudicum, ubi prae ceteris assentientes habet Holmesii codices 75. 54. 118. 44. 59. 74. 76. 84. 106. 134." He then gives a few instances. For *εκμωθα* 165*a*, 10, he adduces *εκμαθα* 75 as the nearest reading. He overlooked *εκμωθα* 54 in Parsons. As for *μωσαν* 162*a*, 8, which he mentions as a singular reading, *μωσαν* 118 comes pretty close, not to mention *βωσαν* 75 *βωσαν* 54 which, considering the well-known graphic similarity of β and μ in the cursive script, are not so remote either.

3. As I am preparing for publication an edition of the Greek Joshua according to the text of the cursives with which Tischendorf's uncial stands in affinity, I shall reserve for the preface to that edition an account of the attention which these manuscripts have thus far received, of the discovery that they constitute a group, and of the conjectures concerning the recension which they represent. I shall here single out only the latest contribution by Ernst Hautsch (*Der Lukiantext des Oktateuch*, Berlin, 1910) who recognizes in the group, particularly in the smaller sub-group (54. 75), none other than the Lucianic recension. But whether Lucian's or not, it is certainly a recension, and it is just as manifest that it is not Origen's.

4. So far as the Book of Joshua goes, 59 steps out as a member of the group in question. This is at least my impression from the readings given by Parsons. The case is different in the Book of Judges (see Moore's *Commentary*, Introduction). On the other hand, Cod. Gr. 609 of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris must be included: I find it to be almost a twin-brother of 44; but 106 with which they are both related excels them.

5. A still further witness of the text underlying our group may be found in the Old Latin of the Codex Lugdunensis. According to the editor, Ulysse Robert (*Heptateuchi partis posterioris versio latina antiquissima*, Lyon, 1900), its nearest relatives are 74, 54, 106, 134. My own examination, however, goes to reveal a closer affinity with 54. 75. 118. To mention but one example, the peculiar reading *εκμωθα* adverted to by Tischendorf (see § 2) recurs in the Latin in the form *ecmoth* which, by the way, is the more correct, the final *a* being an error of dittography. There are also noteworthy deviations. Thus it occasionally reverts in a pronounced

manner to the B type so far as its groundwork is concerned, and some readings it shares with the Sahidic version (cf., e.g., 15: 27 *asergarri* with *αεργαρε*). The points of contact with 54. 75. 118 are, however, sufficient to warrant a collation.

6. In presenting on this occasion an edition of K ahead of my forthcoming edition of the entire text (see § 3) I am guided by the desire to take my bearings for the latter. The collation which accompanies the edition of the fragments makes it clear that of the group of cursives signalized by Tischendorf it is the smaller group (54. 75. 118) with which the affinity of K is most marked and among the three it is 54 that must be singled out in particular. For 118 stands somewhat aside, and 75 is a curtailed text, its omissions being not always due to errors, but obviously to a desire for condensation. To be sure, 54 errs on the side of amplification through the admission of matter which we may conjecture stood on the margin of the archetype. Just how far 54 may be followed is revealed by a comparison with K. It is furthermore clear that the recensional character of K. 54 is obliterated in the larger group (74. 76. etc.) into which matter from the cognate, yet distinct recension by Origen has been admitted. I feel therefore that I shall be justified in my future edition to make 54 the basis of my text, while the variants from the other witnesses may be conveniently placed below in the apparatus.

7. I have supplied in brackets the lacunae of K which Tischendorf, barring exceptions (165b, 1; 169b, 3, 4, 5 in part, 6-10; 170a, 10, 23), has refrained from doing. As the reader will see, there is room for grave doubt only in the fewest instances. Below the text I give in three sets of Notes the variants from (1) 54. 75. 118. Old Latin, (2) 84. 134. 76. 74. 106. Cod. Gr. Paris. 609. 44, (3) BAΘG. 55. Lagarde's Greek text (the so-called Lucian), the Syrohexaplaris in Lagarde's edition, Dillmann's Ethiopic (codices FH), and Ciasca's Sahidic. For the uncials I have used the phototypic editions, while for the cursives I possess photographs which the authorities of Dropsie College have kindly secured for my use. My information is thus based on first-hand sources throughout. I say this, because I have discovered numerous inaccuracies in Swete's edition. Maes and Drusius I quote from the *Critici Sacri*; occasionally there

will be found readings from Swete's and Parsons' apparatus, also references to Field and Eusebius (*Onomastica*, ed. Klostermann). While in the first set of my Notes I have recorded all divergences even of an orthographic character, the variants in the other two sets have in the main been confined to matters that count. A textual commentary accompanies the edition.

8. I use the following sigla: KBAG which require no explanation; Θ is the Washington manuscript edited by Sanders; r=54; o=75; s=118; R=ros; L=Old Latin; u=84; l=134; p=76; t=74; v=ulpt; f=106; i=Cod. Gr. 609; z=44; r=fiz; Λ=Lagarde; S=Syrohexaplaris; Eth=Ethiopic (codices FH) (E^{cg}=Ethiopic, codices CG, occasionally referred to); U=Sahidic. * = prima manus; ¹=correction by the first or a contemporaneous hand; ²=correction by a later hand; t=textus; m(after a codex)=margo. For the hands of BA I use Swete's sigla as well as his information. Further sigla and abbreviations: H^g=the Hebrew text underlying the Greek version (Septuagint); H^o=the Hebrew text read by Origen; H^m=the masoretic text. Θ=the original of the Septuagint; α'σ'θ'=Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion; σ'=the Septuagint column of the Hexapla; ast=asteriscus. In the Textual Commentary < = *from* and > = *leads to*. Helbing = *Grammatik der Septuaginta* von Dr. Robert Helbing, Göttingen, 1907.

9. Postscript. Thompson's *Coptic Palimpsest*, Oxford, 1911, reached me after the article had been set in type. As almost the whole book of Joshua is contained in that publication, I have collated Ciasca's fragment with Thompson's text and the remainder of the latter as far as it covers the Greek text here published with the apparatus in the third series of variants. I append here the results of my collation (Cⁱ=Ciasca's text, C^t and from 162a, 12 C=Thompson's text), leaving for the future a fuller discussion of them:

161a 1-3 drop ¹ after C | 17 -ας C^t error, the scribe had in mind p. 53b, l. 31 22, 23 γοσομ C^t 161b 1 read τουτους C^t AGS | αυτων BhC : > Cⁱ [κατ = Cⁱ] κατα C^t = AΘ | 7 αβις C, initial ι dropped out by haplography in the Coptic text | 10 μρωων C^t, see editor's note 13 ζιφ C^t | 18 παβαα C^t | 23 φεινειδωρ C^t 162a 2-4 ενιους. φερεζιους, αβουσιους C^t | 6/7 τους νπο

την ερημον]>C^T | 12 λαος πολυς cf. C, prob. inner-Coptic addition || 162b 6
 εγω is expressed in C^T || 163a 1 εος post κατεδιωκον, prob. inner-Coptic addition
 | 4/5 μασερων BhC | μαρσεμωμαν C = μασερεβω μαν = μασερεφωθ μαν | 7 λον C
 (but initial and final letter doubtful) corrupt | 15 ειπεν C | 16 τους] prm και
 C | 10/11 στοματι ξιφους C | 21 βασιλεων C || 164a 3/4 sg. C | 5/6 συνεταξεν]
 + ει CC | 16 ις C | 23/25 και απωλεια (= αναιρων?) απωλεσεν αυτους (+ νσα
 νευερην) εν στοματι ξιφους; the order, of course, may have been changed by
 the translator || 164b 7 ωσαντως]>C, prob. as in C accommodation to the
 translator's idiom | 9/10 και—εποιησεν]>C, inner-Coptic omission through
 homoioteleuton | 18 ναγεβ C || 165a 1 αραβα] prm art C | 16 βασαν C | 23
 ασεχα C || 165b 2 γεργεσιν C | 5 γαλααδ] οριον γαλαατ C | 6 οριον C || 166a
 7 χλκα C | 10 αυτην C (paraphrased by terram) | 14 εν] prm ει C | 16 αραβα]
 prm art C | 19/20 εν αγεβ C || 166b 3/4 και τον γεργεσαιον C | 18 δααβιρ C |
 20 γαισει C = γεσει cf. C, hence pointing to γεσειρ | 22 αραθ C = C | 23 λεβινα
 C | + βασιλεια οδολαμ C (the sum total is XXIX) | 24 μακηδα C || 167a
 2 φυλης] + υιων C | 3 μωνσης] + κληρονομιαν C | 4 τη] + γη C | 5 ημυσεσιν]
 ημυσει φυλης μανασση C | 6 ις] + κληρονομιαν C | 8/9 εν τω περαν του ιορδανου]
 >C || 167b 3 πασαν C | 5 αυτων C | 16 την] γην C || 168a 22 του] terrae C ||
 168b 16 ιερεως C ? | C missing from αρχων—οργη, 168b 20—170b 1, but
 through change of order the wds. πασαν την [συνα]γωγην ιηλ are extant at the
 end || 170b 2 αυτος] αχαρ C | 3 μη μονος C | 14—16 ο θς θ' εστιν και αυτος εστιν
 κς ο θς και ο θς αυτος οιδεν C

I wish also to add *ad* § 5 end an example of a singular coincidence between **A** and **C** which both share with **s**, the three standing alone with their peculiar text. I refer to 5, 3 where **sC****A** add after *ιηλ* the sentence *και εθηκεν θιμωνιας ακροβυστιων* (prefaced in **sC** by the phrase *εκ δευτερου*, also found in *iz*, but repeated from vs. 2), with which cf. Pirke derabbi Eliezer, c. 29 (קבץ כל הערלות עד טענה) (העמיד להם ערלותיהם גבעה) = Eccl. r., s. 4 (on 4, 6) (העמיד להם ערלותיהם גבעה), cf. also Gen. r., s. 47 (on 17, 23) with reference to Abraham (העמיד גבעה) (ערלות), and contrast Levit. r., s. 25 (on 19, 23) (מקום טהור גבעה) (ערלות); cf. the commentary משה ידי against כהונה (בתחנות כהונה). — *Ad* § 7: p (=76) is a palimpsest certain leaves of which are wholly or partly undecipherable, at least in the photograph; thus the evidence from p is lacking for the bulk of the third fragment here published (22:7 ff.).

K 161a	[καθαπερ εποιησά]	39 X
	τη λομνα· και τω	
	βασιλει αυτης :—	
	⁴⁰ Και επαταξεν ις	40
5	πασαν την ορινη	

RL 161a 1-3]>o | 1 καθαπερ] prm και rs quod non dubito quin K habuerit in ultima linea folii praecedentis: sic **L** et sicut ante fecit dabit transponenda sunt, ergo και >**L** | εποιησαν Krs] εποιησεν **L** | 2 λομνα K] λοβνα rs: λεμνα **L** | 4 ¶ Kr | 5 ορινη Kr] ορηνην ο* (ορινην ο!): γην την ορεινην **L**: γην της ορεινης s | 6/7 και την πεδινην και τον νοτον [[νοτον Kr] νωτον ο]] Kro] και την

UF 161a vs. 39b] >iz | 1 καθαπερ sine και uf | 2 λομνα] λοβνα uf | 4 ¶ ul | 5 ορινη] γην της ορεινης UF | 6/7 και ναγεβ και την πεδινην και τον νοτον και

BCEhAΘAGS 161a 1-3 hAΘAGS (absque signis) >BCE^{vid} (C incipit a τω βασιλει αυτης) | 1 καθαπερ AΘAGS] prm και h | εποιησαν AΘG(ν superscr.)S] εποιησε Λ | 2 τη λομνα] την λομναν h: τη λεβνα ΘAGS: τη λεβμνα A | 4 ¶ h AΘG | 5 πασαν BhAΘ] prm την G (sub ✕)ΑΣ(Δ) | την BhAΘ] >Λ | ορινη]

**Textual
Commentary**

161a 1-3 The omission in o is most probably due to homoioteleuton (the preceding clause ends in και τω βασιλει αυτης). Where namely s**L** coincide with r in including a clause or word wanting in B, it is improbable to assume that o has reverted to B. Whether the omission in B is likewise due to error, it is difficult to tell. The error may just as well have occurred in **B**^s. On the other hand it must be owned that the clause rather lags in **B**^m. Or the omission in o (and perhaps also in B) is due to a desire for condensation; iz go still further by omitting vs. 39b entire ¶ και καθαπερ rsh = רַחֵם וְכַחֵם **B**^m | εποιησε Λ **L** = הָעֵץ **B**^m. The others assimilate the number to that of the verbs in vs. a | 2 λομνα Kh < λοβνα rsuf possibly = הָבְנָה (comp. לִבְנָה); or o is an error for ε (in uncial script); λεμνα **L** < λεβνα ΘAGS (A has both β and μ: λεβμνα) = הָבְנָה **B**^m, ε = — in unaccented closed syllable. h construes ποιειν with the accusative (see also 163a, l. 14-15), hence την λομναν (-ν Greek accusative ending), but leaves τω βασιλει | 4-6 If the Greek translators understood their Hebrew as well as the author of the masoretic accentuation (comp. EV.), they wrote: και επαταξεν ις πασαν την γην· την ορεινην και την ναγεβ (or και τον νοτον, comp. EV. and the South) και την πεδινην και την ασηδωθ. In consequence of bad exegesis, the upper point was deleted; the result was πασαν την γην την ορεινην (terram montuosam **L**) and still further by a change of construction πασαν την γην της ορεινης (all except Kro). A alone with its insertion of εν στοματι ξιφους



K 161a

και την πεδινη
και τον νοτον· και
την ασηδωθ' και
τους βασιλεις αυ-
των· και ου κατε-

X

ναγεβ και την πεδινην || ναγεβs| nazeb L || s L 8 ασηδωθ Krs L| ασιδωθ o : 9, 10

[[τον]>z]] υφ , 10, 11 κατελ(ε)ιπον fi| κατελιπεν υζ 14 ζων|+εξ αυτων υφ '

γην της ορ(ε)ινης B tell: γην εν στοματι ξιφους την ορεινην Λ 6 7 και την πεδινη και τον νοτον| και την ναβαι και την πεδεινη B^ε: και την ναγεβ και την πεδινην hAΘAG^ξ (ξ^m α' σ' και τον νοτον): και τον λιβα και την πεδινην ^ε 8 ασηδωθ Bh^εAΘG| ασηδαθ ^ε: ασιδωθ Λ: ρα^ε | ξ | τους Bh^εεAΘ|+παντας Λ et sub ※ G^ξ | 9/10 αυτων h (ξ^m α' σ' αυτων)| αυτης B^εεAΘAG^ξ 10 και|

(from vs. 39?) between γην and την ορεινην shows an insight into the correct meaning of the Hebrew. It is possible, however, that the bad exegesis is to be charged to the account of ^ε; the text then underlying Kro which is preserved in its integrity in L implies a correction based perhaps on the version from which νοτος was derived. In the immediate ancestor of Kro namely γην την had dropped out, either by homoioteleuton, or because γην was miswritten την which naturally entrained the loss of την. Hebrew נחל was, of course, left untranslated by either version; Origen supplied, presumably from Aquila, την sub ast; what resulted was unreadable Greek: την πασαν την γην, hence the correction in Λ: την πασαν γην. The Hebrew order נחל נהר נהר is preserved everywhere except in Kro. Was και τον νοτον an afterthought, i.e. an insertion from the margin which was put in the wrong place? Comp. υφ with their doublet. Doublets are said to be characteristic of Lucian. נחל was transliterated by ^ε as ναγεβ which was corrupted in B^ε into ναβαι. The stages are as follows: ναγεβ και > ναβεγ (so 71) και > ναβεκ και > ναβε και > ναβαι και. και has caused the omission of a final κ in a preceding place name quite frequently; just as on the other hand εν led to the dropping out of the initial ν of a name following.

According to ξ^m, α' σ' rendered נחל by νοτος, hence the νοτος in υφ by the side of ναγεβ and in Kro in the place thereof ^ε apparently found λψ for נחל: nazeb L is a corruption from nageb 6 ασηδωθ| written in some copies ασηδωδ (spirantic pronunciation of θ and δ); hence the confusion with ρα^ε in ξ; the reverse occurs likewise. Is ασηδαθ ^ε due to την? The tendency to change the plural into a singular may be witnessed elsewhere; comp. γαλιλαθ 168a, 21/22. Other examples are available 9 נחל in front of נחל which was wanting in the κοινη was supplied by Origen 9/10

K 161a

λείπον ἐξ αὐτῶ

X

διασσωσμενον·

καὶ παν ἐμπνεον

καὶ ζων ἐξωλο-

15 θρευσεν καὶ ἀνε-
θεματισεν· ὃν τρο-
πον εὐτειλατο

ἕξ ὁ θὺ ἰηλ' : "καὶ ε-

41

αὐτῶν K^{ro} L] αὐτῆς s 10, 11 κατελ(ε)πον Ks L] κατελιπεν γο 13 ἐμπνεον K]
ἐμπνεον R 14 καὶ ζων KR] ζωῆς (ritam; sequitur et) L? 14/15 ἐξωλοθρευσεν K]
ἐξολοθρευσεν γο: ἐξωλοθρευσε s: ἐξωλοθρευσαν L 15, 16 καὶ ἀνεθεματισεν KR]
>L ἀνεθεματισεν Krs] ἀναθεματισεν ο 18 σ K]>γ 18, 19 καὶ ἐπαταξεν ἰς

18 σ 1 | 18, 19 καὶ ἐπαταξεν ἰς] καὶ ἀπεκτείνειν αὐτοὺς ἰς uf: συναπεκτείνειν αὐτοὺς

>omn 10, 11 κατελ(ε)πον BhAG] κατελιπαν A : κατελιμπαν Θ 11 ἐξ αὐτῶ
h] αὐτῶν BCC: ἐν αὐτῇ AΘAGS (G ἐν αὐτῇ, sed ponendus est obelus ante
ἐν ut in S) | 12 διασσωσμενον AΘ] σεσσωσμενον BhAG 14 καὶ ζων] ζωῆς BCCΛ
et sub τ G S : ἐξ αὐτῆς AΘ : >h 14/15 ἐξωλεῖθρευσεν Bc] ἐξωλεῖθρευσαν
hC AΘAGS 15/16 καὶ ἀνεθεματισεν] >omn | 18 ἰηλ B rel] >C | σ AΘ | 18, 19

αὐτῶν K^{ro} Lurfh = כְּלִי (כְּלִי) = a' σ' according to S^m; Θ wrote αὐτῆς =
כְּלִי (כְּלִי). The translator saw the antecedent of the pronoun in the last
place name כְּלִי כְּלִי, τὴν ἀσθὼθ; or, if we are charitable enough, in כְּלִי כְּלִי

10 καὶ K^{ro} Lurf, an innocent addition, not warranted by S^m 10/11 κατελι-
πον (or the vulgar form κατελιπαν A; its consort Θ inserts a parasitic μ in
front of the π, see Helbing, 22). The singular (rotzh) = S^m (subject
Joshua) 11 αὐτῶν or ἐξ αὐτῶν or ἐν αὐτῇ not in S^m. The former (αὐτῶν or
ἐξ αὐτῶν) would correspond to כְּלִי (comp. 8:22), the latter to כְּלִי (comp.
10:30). Probably additions due to reminiscence of the parallel passages
12 διασσωσμενον or the simplex σεσσωσμενον, an inner-Greek variant 13/14
In order to differentiate כְּלִי כְּלִי from כְּלִי כְּלִי Θ may
have written παν ἐμπνεον ζωῆς, although 11:11 where there was more cause
for differentiation both כְּלִי and כְּלִי are rendered indiscriminately
ἐμπνεον. Origen naturally obelized ζωῆς. His Greek text was therefore
akin to B. KR have παν ἐμπνεον καὶ ζων; perhaps a doublet, i.e. some
translator rendered כְּלִי כְּלִי by ζων (comp. Deut. 20:16 omne vivum August.
for omnem spirantem L). hAΘ have simply παν ἐμπνεον; AΘ, however,
introduce ἐξ αὐτῆς, comp. ἐξ αὐτῶν uf (on the top of καὶ ζων); the phrase
was added in some copies on the basis of parallel passages 14/15 The

K 161a

Παταξεν ἰς ἀπο κα-

X

20 δης βαρνη· και ε-
 ως γαζης· και πα-
 σαν την γην γο-
 ζον· εως γης γα-
 βαων· ⁴²παντας
 25 τους βασιλεις του-

42

KR|>ℓ επатаξεν Kro|+αυτους s | 20 και KR|>ℓ | 22/23 γοζον K| γοζομ r:
 γομοζ o: γοσομ s: γασομ ℓ | 23 γης K| της ro ℓ : prn της s | 24 παντας Kro|
 prn και s ℓ

iz 22/23 γοζον| γοσομ UF | 23 γης| της Ufi : prn της z | 24 παντας| prn
 και UF | 25 —

και επатаξεν ἰς] και απεκτεινεν αυτους ἰς AΘAGΞ (absque signis): >Bh^{CE} |
 20 και|>omn | 21 και| και την A et sub * G (Ξ και tantum sub * habet):
 >Bh^{CE}AΘ | 22 την γην CAΘ| γην AGΞ: την Bh^C | 22/23 γοζον| γοσον CG
 cf. Ξ: γοσομ Bh^{CE}AΘΛ | 23 γης Θ| της B rell | 24 πάντας| πασας A (sic): prn
 και omn | 25 —

sing. and plur. as in the case of יְהִי־אֵר; but note how inconsistent the codices are 15/16 και ανεθεματισεν KRUF a doublet. αναθεματιζεν for יְהִי־אֵר is more literal than εξολεθρευειν. Comp. EV. utterly destroyed with the margin: Heb. devoted αναθεματισεν o without the augment which all the others have 18 ἡλ omitted only in C 18/19 The Hebrew יְהִי־אֵר is resumptive of יְהִי־אֵר at the head of vs. 40. A translator like C might condense the text if he chose. The clause is accordingly omitted in Bh^{CE}ℓ. It was then restored by the recensions. Origen wrote και απεκτεινεν αυτους ἰς. Observe that the ast is wanting in GΞ. Is that the reason why the clause is retained in AΘ? Origen's wording penetrated also into UF (iz omit και and write συναπεκτεινεν, so as to indicate that the verb is resumptive and that the clause is in the nature of a summary). In the recension underlying KR the clause is rendered και επатаξεν ἰς; apparently from another source. Observe the difference in the verb and the retention or omission of the object. An exegetical difference and perhaps even a textual variation underlie the two renderings. Origen read יְהִי־אֵר with ℓ and took the suffix to refer to the kings mentioned in vs. 40. Accordingly he employs the verb αποκτεινεν. The other recension possibly read יְהִי־אֵר and took as its object the afore-mentioned localities; hence πατασσειν 20 The idiomatic יְהִי־אֵר is expressed in KR, but left untranslated in the remainder of the witnesses. In this instance the

K 161b	τους και [την γην] αυτων [ελαβεν] iς εις απαξ [ο γαρ] κς ο θς συν[επολε-] 5 μει τω iη[λ : ¹ εγε-]	X 1 XI
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161b 4 ο Kro] > s | θς Ko] + iηλ rsℒ | 4/5 συνεπολεμη ο | 5/7 εγενετο

161b 1 τουτους] αυτων ufi : > z | 3 ο γαρ] ουι UF | 4 ο θς ulF] > pt | θς] +

161b 1 τουτους AGS] αυτων Bh^{CE} | τουτους και] αυτου (·) τους κατα AΘ | 2 ελαβεν CAΘAGS] επαταξεν Bh^{CEth} | 3 ο γαρ] ουι BhAΘAGS | 4 ο θς hC] + iηλ BΘAGS : > CA | 5 iηλ Bh^{CEth}AΘ] + ⁴και ανεστρεψεν iς εις γαλγαλα Λ :

recension represented by KR goes further than Origen in imitating the Hebrew. But the י in יעד גבעון is left out even in KR || 21 και expressing the י of ℑ^m both in the recension underlying KRℒ and in Origen. The latter also inserted την to express תן, both words being prefixed by an ast. In this instance (contrast above on ll. 4-6) the second την is wanting not only in Λ, but also in G. The introduction of και is in this case not a matter of idiom, but of text and exegesis. If we omit the conjunction, the land of Goshen as far as Gibeon is tantamount to the territory between Kadesh and Gaza. See Gemoll, *Grundsteine zur Geschichte Israels*, 1911, 35 f. || 22 την γην was apparently written by C (comp. C); γην dropped out subsequently through error (hence B and its consorts) || 22/23 The name נַשִּׁי became in Greek transliteration γοσον (so C and, of course, Origen); the corruptions noted above all admit of easy explanation || 23 Here της (against γης KΘ; s has both: της γης) undoubtedly represents the original || 24 The י of ℑ^m is expressed by all except Kro. It is the י of summing up and might, of course, be missed even in Hebrew || 25 —

161b 1 τουτους = האלה ℑ^m was written both by Origen and by the parallel recension (KRℒ); C wrote αυτων (B and its consorts), ℑ^x apparently read מלכיהם for האלה. The κοινή reading found its way into UF (the omission in z is due to condensation) || AΘ unite in presenting a worthless reading: αυτου τους = αυ τουτους = αυ[των] τουτους, a sort of a doublet; κατα is a corruption from και τ[ην] | ελαβεν = לכה ℑ^m which reading penetrated also into C is common to both recensions; C wrote επαταξεν = הבה, comp. vs. 40 || 3 ο γαρ KRℒ against ουι in the remainder; a striving after less slavish Greek || 4 The omission of iηλ in Ko and elsewhere is in all probability due to condensation in view of the presence of the word at the end of the verse. With iηλ, also ο θς disappeared in CA. Much liberty was taken, it appears, with the divine names || 5 The converse

K 161b

Νετο δε ως { ηκου-
 σεν ιαβιμ { βασι-
 λεις ασω{ρ απεσ-
 τιλεν προ{ς ιωβαβ}
 10 βασιλεα μα{ρων}

XI

δε ως ηκουσεν Kη| ως δε ηκουσεν L 7 ιαβιμ K| ιαβειν R: abir L 8, 9 απεστι-
 λεν K| απεστειλεν ο: απεστειλε RS 9 ιωβαβ R| ιιοθαν L 10, 13 μαρων—
 βασιλεα| >s 10 μαρων Kρο| αμαρρων L 12 σομορων Kρο| σομορρων L |

ιηλ UF 5 τω ιηλ UF| αυτοις iz 7 ιαβιμ | ιαβιν UF 10 μα{ρων} | μαδων UF |

+⁴³✕ και ανεστρεψεν ις και πας ιηλ μετ αυτον εις πολεμον εις την παρεμβολην εις
 γαλγαλα : ||εις πολεμον|>ξ|| Gξ 5 7 εγενετο δε ως| ως δε omn | 7 ιαβιμ|
 ιαβειν h¹ΘΛGξ: ιαβεις Bh*CA: αβεις C 7 8 ιαβ. βασι{λεις} | βασιλευσ ιαβ.
 h 9 ιωβαβ B rel| ιωαβ Λ: ιωραμ h 10 μα{ρων}| μαρρων B: μαρρον C: αμαρ-

process of condensation may be witnessed in iz which replaces τω ιηλ by αυτοις. Verse 43 exists only in Origen's recension (Gξ; in an abbreviated form in Λ). εις πολεμον G which C rightly omits is merely a scribal error. The same verse is found repeated in B^m in this very chapter, vs. 15 (the preceding vs. 14 likewise ends in לַיִּשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל). As the verse there is found in ro (alongside with the codices representing Origen's recension; Lagarde prints against his own manuscript on the authority of Maes an obolus, but G has an ast; the verse is also extant in B^he¹msCth), it may be concluded that K likewise had it. In front of ܠܥܡܡܐ, as Lagarde informs us, there may be seen in his Syriac manuscript an erasure covering a word of, as it seems, four letters; perhaps it was ܠܥܡܡܐ = εις πολεμον. G in vs. 43 5 7 C, of course, read יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל with B^m which he rendered somewhat freely ως δε ηκουσεν; KRUF (but not L, nor Origen) express יִשְׂרָאֵל. 7 The ιαβειν of the two recensions (in K μ is a miswritten ν) is, of course, the result of reverting to B^m; nevertheless, we may be reasonably certain that C wrote ιαβιν likewise and that ιαβεις in the B texts (also in A) is due to assimilation with ιαβης יִשְׂרָאֵל; hence perhaps the transposition in h: βασιλευσ ιαβεις ασωρ. In proper names, assimilation of one name to another led to error 9 ιωβαβ which escaped disfigurement in the B texts became ιωαβ in Λ through assimilation to Joab, and ιωραμ in h through assimilation to Jechoram (graphic similarity of P and B, and of β and μ); a sort of conflate of ιωβαβ and ιωραμ is ιιοθαν = ιωβαμ 10 יִשְׂרָאֵל B^m is found in Origen, whence it penetrated into UF, whereas KR L kept the κοινή reading. The latter in the form μαρων (in μαρρων the gemination is inner-Greek; αμαρρων with a dittographed after βασιλεα) is what C wrote, and goes back

K 161b	και προς β[ασιλεια]	XI
	σομορων [και προς]	
	βασιλεια αζ[ιφ ² και	2
	προς τους [βασιλεις]	
15	τους κατ[α σιδω-]	
	να την μ[εγαλην]	
	εις την ο[ρινην]	

13 α[ζιφ] K | αζηφ s: αξιμ 𐤀 : ζιφ ro | 17 ορινην ro | ορεινην s | 18 την K | pr̄m

13 α[ζιφ]] ιαζιφ(ιαζηφ z)UF 14 τους>p 18 την | pr̄m εις | 21 -νερωθ i |

(ρ)ων 𐤀: μαδων AΘAGS | 12 σομορων] σομερων AΘAG (𐤔 𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤓); συμωων BhC: samō'ān C^{1b} 13 α[ζιφ] | αζειφ BhC: σιφ C: αχιφ AΘ: ασχαφ GS: χασαφ Λ 18 την | pr̄m εις omn | α[ραβα] hCAGS: ραβα B^{1b}: ραβαθ A: ραβαθα Θ | 18-20 και προς τους απο βορρα cf. S^m α' σ' και προς τους βασιλεις

to בִּרְרִי = בִּרְאִי 12:20 where it is combined with בִּרְרִי 12 The readings of the two recensions, *σομορων* and *σομερων*, unless corrupted from *σεμερων*, presuppose בִּרְרִי in the place of בִּרְרִי. The B texts have *συμωων*, comp. 12:20. If the reading be correct (it is quite possible that it is corrupted from *συμρων* or *συμορων*), the translator read בִּרְרִי (𐤔 and 𐤓 were similar in a transitional alphabet after 𐤔 had been opened at the top) 13 αχσαφ of Origen (χασαφ Λ is faulty) = 𐤀𐤕𐤔𐤕𐤓 𐤀^m; but αχσαφ, I believe, was also written by 𐤀. Owing to the similarity of pronunciation between φ and spirantic β (comp. above a remark on θ and δ), αχσαφ was miswritten αχσαβ and then by assimilation to the name 𐤀𐤕𐤔𐤕𐤓 = αχσιβ, αξιβ (which underlies αξιμ 𐤀), αξιφ, αζιφ (ξ miswritten as ζ). Through haplography after *βασιλεια*, the initial α dropped out, the scribe having in mind ζιφ, 𐤕𐤕. αχιφ AΘ is a cross between αχσαφ and αζιφ 15.16 In 𐤀^e, בִּרְרִי 𐤀^m appeared as בִּרְרִי רַבְרַבָּה; the current Greek text was retained by both recensions 18 εις which is omitted by K alone should be restored The dropping of the initial α in *αρυβα* (B^{1b}) is not original, but proceeded from the mistaken interpretation of the α as the Hebrew article (א) which indeed would be redundant after the Greek article. *ραβα* made certain scribes think of Rabbah (in Ammon); hence *ραβαθ* A *ραβαθα* (with dittographed α; *απειναιτι* follows) Θ 18 20 και προς τους απο βορρα K^{1b}UF is derived, as we may gather from S^m (where read with Field 𐤀𐤕𐤔𐤕𐤓), from α' σ' and represents, in agreement with 𐤀^m, the parallel to τους κατα σιδωνα την μεγαλην 𐤀. Note again that the second element of the

K 161b

και την α[ραβα και]
 προς του[ς απο βορ-]
 20 ρα· απεν[αντι χε-]
 νερεθ'· κ[αι εν τη]
 πεδινη· κ[αι εις]
 φενναεδ[ωρ· και]

XI

εις R 𐤀 | 20/21 χενερεθ Ks 𐤀 | χεννερεθ r: χενναρεθ o | 22/23 και εις φενναεδ[ωρ]
 K] και εις φενναεδδωρ (et in faenaneldor) 𐤀: σεφενα ενδωρ o: σεφεσνα ενδωρ r:

22 και]prn και εις σεφενα (σεφενα fz) | 23 φενναεδ[ωρ]] φενναενδωρ i:

τους κατα βορραν (l. 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀; cf. 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀) >omn | 20/21 [χε]νερεθ
 h𐤀𐤀𐤀𐤀𐤀 (𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀): χενερεθθi A: κενερωθ B𐤀 | 21/22 [εν τη] πεδινη] εις το πεδιον
 [[εις]>Λ]] omn | 23 φενναεδ[ωρ]] φενναεδδωρ B: fēnādār 𐤀: φαναντωρ 𐤀:

doublet comes in at a posterior place | 20 απεναντι= 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 for 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀;
 left uncorrected by both recensions | 20/21 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 for 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 κενερωθ B𐤀
 (the κ may be a test of originality; as the older pre-Septuagintal loan-words
 prove, 𐤁 was transliterated as κ, 𐤓 as τ, and 𐤓 as π; comp., however,
 χενερωθ i); all the other texts have χεννερεθ, the form singularized and
 accommodated to other passages. The double ν (ro) is, of course, correct;
 χενναρεθ o with a is certainly defensible, but may be an inner-Greek variant
 due to similarity of sound (a source of frequent error transforming a singular
 into a plural in verb-forms and *vice versa*); χενερεθθi A is assimilated to
 χερεθθi (𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀) | 22 πεδινη Kr 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 for πεδιον was apparently taken from one
 of the three, comp. 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 on και εις την αραβα 22/23 εις φεν-
 ναεδωρ] For 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀, 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 probably read 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀, comp. 12:23.
 Origen wrote ναφεθδωρ (from which ναφεδδωρ, ναφεδωρ were easily developed)
 = 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀, comp. 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 17:11. In view of μαφετα B in the passage
 just mentioned which it is easy to correct into ναφετα, I believe that the
 original of 𐤀 had ναφεθδωρ, and that it was corrupted through transposition
 into φανεδωρ or φενναδωρ (comp. 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 here) to which all the other
 variants are reducible. εδδωρ may stand for εν δωρ (comp. ro and υf) =
 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀. ε may, however, represent an original θ; then, of course, ναφεθ-
 δωρ (with θ) was the original. The corrupt reading was retained by the
 K texts. σεφενα ενδωρ o is corrupted from ες (=εις) φενναενδωρ; in r an
 irrational σ was inserted: σεφεσνα. υf have the correct σεφενα by the
 side of εις | 24/25 K shares with r an omission which is clearly due to
 homoioteleuton. 𐤀 joined the last word of vs. 2 to vs. 3; the translator's
 knowledge of Hebrew thus reveals itself as exceedingly poor. Certainly

K 161b		εις τους [παρλι-]	XI
	25	ους ³ χορρα[ιους και]	3
162a		αμορρ]αιους· και	
		[ευαιο]υς και ιε-	
		[βουσ]αιους και	
		[φερ]εξεους· τους	
	5	[εν τ]ω ορι· και χετ-	
		[ταιο]υς τους υπο	

και εις ναφεθδωρ s | 25 χορραιους Kf **ℒ** | prtm τους χανανιους απο ανατολων και τους παρλιους [[χανανεους o | απ o]] os | χορραιους Kro **ℒ** | χοιραιους s

162a 2 ευαιους R] *eucheos* **ℒ** | 3 -αιους Krs] -εους o | 4 -εζεους Ko] -εζαιους rs 5 ορι K] ορει R | 8 γην R] την **ℒ** | μωωσαν K] μωωσαν s: βωωσαν r:

φανναενδωρ z : φεναενδωρ tell | 24/25 [παρλι]ους] + χανανιους απο ανατολων· και εις τους παρλιους

162a [αμορρ]αιους] prtm τους : 2-8 τους χετταιους τους υπο την ερημον εις την μασφομ· και τους φερεζαιους τους εν τω ορει· και τους ιεβουσαιους τους εν

יִבְנוֹתָא **ℒ** : ναφεδδωρ h : ναφεδωρ A*G* : ναφεθδωρ A¹ΘAG¹ (θ superscr) | 24 —

162a 8 εις τους παρλιους χανανιους απο ανατολων και εις τους παρλιους αμορραιους και ευαιους και ιεβουσαιους και φερεζαιους τους εν τω ορει· και τους χετταιους τους υπο την ερημον εις την μασευμαν [[ευαιους, ιεβουσαιους, φερεζαιους] φερεζαιους, ευαιους, ιεβουσαιους **ℒ** ερημον] + εν τω ορει **ℒ**: + και **ℒ** | μασευμαν

יְהוֹרִי הַיָּם הַזֶּה וְיְהוֹרִי הַיָּם הַזֶּה cannot mean “by the sea the Canaanite at the east, and by the sea the Amorite”; the translator covered up the awkwardness of the Hebrew by the use of a Greek adjective: *παρλιος*. Neither of the two recensions, however, dared to alter the text, though the correct translation was available in σ’ (comp. **ℒ**^m). לְיַבְנוֹתָא of **ℒ** may seem to be a slight adaptation to **ℒ**^m; but probably it is an error (σ’ likewise omits the י) 25 The Horites (concerning whom see E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, 330–345; Gemoll, *loc. cit.*, 349 ff.) are peculiar to the K recension; textually, יְהוֹרִי is a pendant to יְהוֹרִי later on. The order of the nations after the Amorites is the same in Origen (and thence also in **ℒ**^m) as in **ℒ**^m: יְהוֹרִי, פְּרִיז, יְבֹסִי, הָרִי, while the K recension follows the order of the current Greek texts: הָרִי, יְבֹסִי, פְּרִיז, יְהוֹרִי (**ℒ** alone deviates from the order of the B texts with an arrangement of its own). While **ℒ**^m reintroduce the Hebrew order, their text is complicated in that they retain with יְהוֹרִי, though they place it first, all that follows יְהוֹרִי in the form of B (with the readings *ερημον* and *μασφομ*), while after יְהוֹרִי which they place last they

K 162a	[την] ερημον εις	XI
	[γην] μοῶσαν:	
	[‘Και ε]ξηλθον αι πα-	4
10	[ρεμ]βολαι αυτω	
	[και ο]ι βασιλεις αυ-	

βωσαν ο: μασσοαμ ℒ 9 9 K^r 9 10 αι παρεμβολαι αυτων || αι | ε ο || K^r | αυτοι

τω ορει· και τους ευαιους τους υπο την αιρμων εις την μασσηφαθ || τους 2^o > u | εις 1^o > iz | την 1^o > p μασφομ | μασφωμ u τους εν τω ορει 2^o > iz | μασ-

B^e] μασεχημ ℒ: μασεμμαθ h: μασσηφα h²] Bh^eℒ: εις τους παραλιους χαναναιους(·) απο ανατολων· και εις τους παραλιους αμορραιους· και τους χετταιους(·) και φερεζαιους(·) και υβουσαιους τους εν τω ορει· και τους ευαιους υπο την αιρμων εις την μασσηφα· [[αμορραιους sup ras A¹] χαναναιους A^{*} φερεζαιους] prm τους Θ υπο] prm τους ΑΘ την 2^o γην Λ | μασσηφα] μασσηφαθ Α || ΑΘΛΓΞ (l. ℒδδδ) pro ℒδδδℒο S 9 9, 10 αι πα[ρεμ]βολαι

give what follows the Hexaplar form (with the readings *αιρμων* and *μασσηφαθ*). Hence $\text{UF} = \text{K}^r + \text{Hexaplar modifications}$ worked into that recension. Note how בְּיָמֵינוּ is added both to פְּרָצָה and יְבוֹשָׁה , to the former in conformity with the K recension, to the latter in accordance with the Hebrew 7 *ερημον* is, of course, an inner-Greek error for *ερμων* 8 *γην* R comp. *την γην* Λ is to be restored everywhere in the place of *την*. What favored the change of Γ to Τ was the circumstance that Mizpah occurs elsewhere as a city. How מִצְפָּה was transliterated by Θ, hides itself in the *κοινη* variants which are at first sight baffling especially if we include the variants in vs. 8 (163a, l. 7), though ℒ^m points there מִצְפָּה :

B ^e	h	ℒ	K	γ	ο	s	ℒ	UF
μασευμα	μασεμμαθ	μασεχημ	μωσαν	βωσαν	βωσαν	μωσαν	μασσοαμ	μασφομ
μασσωχ	μασωχ		μασφαν	μασφαμ	μασφαν	μασσηφα	μοσφα	μασφοαμ

In the lower line, s comes near the Hexaplar form (*μασσηφα(θ)*) which (see above) is found in UF in the first place by the side of the other form. The Hexaplar form may be paralleled elsewhere in the Greek Bible; in this book comp. 18:26 *μασσημα* (B), *μασσηφα* (G¹Λ) (roℒAΘ have, however, *μασφα*). It is not easy to explain the form (confusion with מִצְפָּה ?). It is clear, however, that the *κοινη* forms shown in the table exhibit no trace of η. It is just as manifest that in the three columns on the left the silent ε is represented by ε, whereas in the remaining columns to the right no vowel corresponds to it at all. With a view to the reading of ℒ, the reading of h (with one σ) in the lower line is certainly to be preferred to that of B (with double σ); moreover, ω stands for ο which latter was a graphic error for ε.

K 162a	[των] μετ αυτω	XI
	[ωσπ]ερ η αμμος	
	[της θ]αλασσης τω	
15	[πλη]θει· και ιπποι	
	[και α]ρματα πολ-	
	[λα σφ]οδρα· και	5
	[συνε]βαλον παν-	

℥ | 15 -θει Ks] -θη r (per compendium o) | 18 [συνε]βαλον Kro] συνηλθον s℥ |

σηφαθ u¹ (σ superscr)lt | μασιφαθ p : μασηφαθ u^{*F}] 9 ¶ | 14 της θαλασ-
σης] prgm η επι το χειλος [[η]>fi | επι] παρα p]] | 17 ¶ | 18 [συνε]βαλον |
συνηλθον | 20 παρεγε-] εγε- iz

αυτων] αυτοι omn | 12 αυτω B rell]+λαος πολυς A et sub ※ G^S | 14 [της
θαλασσης Bh^{CE}] prgm η επι το χειλος [[επι] παρα A]] AΘAG^S | 15-17 και—

On the other hand, in the upper line B with -αν is correct, and **℥** with -εμ corrupt. χ is apparently a mistake for φ to which the consonants of Bh in the upper line also seem to lead. μ stands for β, and so does ν; the latter interchange clearly points to the spirantic pronunciation of β, and this shows that the original was φ. Hence we obtain *μασεφαν* as the reading underlying Bh^{CE}. As for that of the K recension, its correct form appears to be preserved in *μασφαν* Ko (and with ν corrupted to μ in r; ν, however, should be deleted, comp. ℥; it was introduced from the parallel passage where it belongs of right: accus. ending) in the lower line; *μασφοαμ* υF is a cross between *μασφαμ* and *μασφομ* υF upper line; the α is, of course, correct; *μασσοαμ* ℥ < *μασοαμ* < *μασφαμ* (o < φ). The form underlying the readings of Kr in the upper line was clearly *μοοσαν* < *μοφσαν* < *μοσφαν* comp. *μοσφα* ℥ lower line < *μεφσα*(ν) < *μεσφα*(ν) (o < ε) 10-12 In the place of **מִלְכֵּי־בָּנִי** **מִלְכֵּי**, **מִלְכֵּי** read **מִלְכֵּי־בָּנִי**, hence *αυτοι και οι βασιλεις αυτων*, which Origen allowed to stand. Not so the K recension (all except ℥) which inserted *αι παρεμβολαι αυτων* = **מִלְכֵּי־בָּנִי**, but in the process lost *αυτοι* = **הָיָה** **בָּנִי** **רַב**, which is an apposition to **מִלְכֵּי־בָּנִי**, naturally was wanting in **מִלְכֵּי**; it found a place in the Hexapla (a mechanical procedure which may be paralleled in other cases), but not in the K recension 14 Origen likewise inserted **אֲשֶׁר כָּל כֹּהֵן** which **℥** did not read or else omitted by way of condensation. No signs were used by him, hence the presence of the plus in AΘ. It was also introduced in υF 18 *συνεβαλον* Kro and Origen. From an unknown source, since α' σ', according to Maes, wrote (not *ωμολογησαν*—the Greek is his from the Syriac—but) *συνεφωνησαν* (comp. **℥** Gen. 14:3; α' has there *συνεβαλον*, whereas σ' writes *συνηλθον*). All the other



K 162a

[τες οι] βασιλεις ου-
 20 [τοι κ]αι παρεγε-
 [νοντ]ο επι το αυ-
 [το κα]ι παρενεβα-
 [λουν ε]πι του υδα-
 [τος μ]αρων πολε-
 25 [μησαι] προς ιηλ'.

XI

162b

*Και ειπεν κς προς
 ιν· μη φοβηθης
 απο προσωπου αυ-
 των· οτι αυριϑ
 5 την ωραν ταυτη
 παραδιδωμι αυ-

6

22/23 παρενεβα[λον] Kro^h + επι το αυτο s : 24 μαρων Kro | μερρων ^h : μερρων s
 162b 1 ^h Krs ειπεν Krs | απε ο : 2 φοβηθης K | φοβηθεις το : φοθης s : 6 πα-

162b 5 τη ωρα ταυτη iz : 6 παραδιδωμι prpm εγω : ιηλ | prpm (των pt)

σφοδρα > ^h : 17 ¶ Θ 18 [συνε] βαλον AG^s | συνηλθον B rel | 19/20 ου[τοι]
 hAΘAG^s | αυτοι B : αυτων ^h : 19/21 ουτοι και παρεγενοντο > ^h 21/23 επι
 το αυ[το] κα[ι] παρενεβα λον Bh^hCE | AG^s : προς αυτον και παρενεβαλον
 επι το αυτο A : επι το αυτο Θ 24 [μαρων] μαρρων BCE : μαρρων h¹ : μερρων
 AAS (ⲙⲁⲣⲱⲛ) : μερρων Θ : μερρων h^hG 25 προς τον omn (sed ⲙⲁⲣⲱⲛ ^s)

162b 1 ^h BhAΘ 4 αυριϑ | B rel | prpm την G : 5 την ωραν ταυτη |
 || την > G || AΘAG^s | Bh : 6 παραδιδωμι | prpm εγω omn 6-8 αυτοις τετρ.

texts (B, v^r, s^h, also AΘ) have συνηλθον. Hebrew יִשְׁרָאֵל 19 20 αυτοι B (comp. αυτων ^h) undoubtedly an error for ουτοι B and its consorts place יִשְׁרָאֵל after יִשְׂרָאֵל; so also the K recension. Origen changed the order to accord with יִשְׂרָאֵל. The uncertainty of position led some scribes to write επι το αυτο twice, both before and after και παρενεβαλον; so s and apparently the archetype of AΘ, only that A changed the first into προς αυτον, while Θ omitted και παρενεβαλον επι το αυτο through homoioteleuton. 24 The transliteration of ⲙⲁⲣⲱⲛ (comp. also 162b, l. 17) oscillates between μαρρων (μαρρων, μαρων) and μερρων (μερρων, μερρω). The former was written by ^h and retained by Kro, the latter apparently belongs to Origen. Either presupposes ⲙⲁⲣⲱⲛ; for the α of ^h comp., e.g., μαχαναρθ Deut. 3:17 B 25 προς ιηλ expresses the Hebrew more faithfully than τον ιηλ which ^h wrote and which Origen apparently suffered to remain.

162b 4 5 αυριον την transposed in G, an error 6 εγω was left out by

K 162b

XI

τους τετροπω-
 μενους εναντιῶ
 ἰῆλ'· τους ιππους
 10 αυτων νευροκο-
 πησεις· και τα αρ-
 ματα αυτων κατα-
 καυσεις πυρι· ¹και
 ηλθεν ο λαος· και
 15 πας ο λαος ο πολεμι-
 στης· επ αυτους ε-
 πι το υδωρ' μαρω
 εξαπεινα· και ε-
 πεσον επ αυτους

7

ραδιδωμ K] prm εγω R^L | 2/3 τετροπωμενους Ks] τετροπομενους ro | 9 ἰῆλ
 Kro^L] prm υων s | 11 -πησεις Krs] -πησις ο | 14 ο λαος K] ἰς R^L | 17 μαρω[v]
 Kro] μερρων ^L : μερρωμ s | 18 εξαπεινα R | 18/19 επεσον Ks] επεσεν ο : επεπεσεν

υων | 14 ¶ | ο λαος] ἰς | 18/19 επεσον] επεπεσεν u : επεπεσεν rell

hAΘAG^S] ~ B | αυτους] παντας αυτους A et sub × G^S | 7/8 τετροπωμενους
 B rell] τετρομενους A : ^L (^L) S (^L) S^m | 8 εναντιω[v] B rell] εναντι
 h | 9 ἰῆλ] prm του B cf. ^L : prm υων AΘA et sub × G : prm παντος
 h | 11, 13 -πησεις, -καυσεις] pl. ^L | 13 πυρι] prm εν BhΘ | ¶ BhAΘG | 14 ο
 λαος] ἰς omn | 16 επ αυτους Bh^L AΘ] prm μετ αυτου AG et sub × S | 17
 μαρω[v]] μαρρων B^L A : μαρρωθ Θ : ^L S : μαρρωμ Gh¹ : μαρρωμ Λh* |
 18/19 επεσον] επεσαν A : επεπεσαν B (pl. ^L) AG(pl. S)Θ¹ : επεπεσεν
 hΘ* | 19 επ αυτους Bh (^L) S] αυτοις AΘAG 20 εν τη ορινη] sub τ

the scribe of K παντας was omitted by Θ; Origen alone supplied it ¶ 7/8 τετροπωμενους all but A is evidently an old error ("quod emendatum ita esse credo a sciolo nescio quo" Drusius) for τετρομενους (the reading is found in 16; 82; F; Ald.; Compl.; ^L S' apparently is meant for τετροπωμενους, while ^L S^m expresses τετρομενους) . 9 υων which G has sub ast is wanting in ^L. Did ^L read ^L ? Nor does παντος h correspond to an element in ^L. 14 ο λαος K is a clear error (the identical error 5, 9 ^L); perhaps ἰς was miswritten ἰῆλ which is frequently paraphrased by ο λαος . 16 μετ αυτου = ^L was added by Origen alone . 18/19 The manner in which the codices divide within one group on the question of number, shows that we are dealing with individual vagaries of scribes. The vulgar form with α is apparently the original; the K recension substitutes the classical

K 162b	¶ ^c	20	εν ¶ τη ορεινη· ⁸ και παρεδωκεν αυτοις ἃς υποχειριους τω ἱηλ· και επατα- ξαν αυτοις· και	8 XI
163a		25	κοπτοντες αυτοις κατεδιωκον εως σιδωνος της με- γαλης· και εως μασερημωθ' απο	

r : *inuasi* ¶ | 19 αυτοις KR] + *timor* ¶ | 20 ορεινη K_r] ορηνη ο : ορεινη s | ¶ rs
| 23/24 και επαταξαν αυτοις KR] > ¶ | 24 -ξαν K_s] -ξεν ro | 25 —

163a 1 αυτοις κατεδιωκον K_{ro}¶] ~ s | 2 σιδωνος K_{rs}] σιδωδονος ο | 4
μασερημωθ K_s] μασεριμωθ ro: μαζερωθ ¶ | 4/5 απο θαλασσης K_r] > ¶ |

163a 4 μασερημωθ | 7 μασφαν] μασφοαμ | 12 διασεσωσμενον uf |

G³ : εκ' της ορεινης ¶ | 23 τω] > omn | 23/24 και επαταξαν αυτοις] > omn |
κοπτοντες B rel] κατεκοπτον και h

163a 1 κατεδιωκον] + αυτοις AAG³ | 4/5 μασερημωθ απο θαλασσης]

form with ο. The compound is manifestly right: επεπ- became through haplography επ-. ¶ with its *timor* stands alone ¶ 20 εν τη ορεινη, sub obelo Origen, = בָּרֵךְ (after בָּרַךְ) ¶ 23/24 και επαταξαν αυτοις, peculiar to the K recension, represents a pendant to και κοπτοντες αυτοις from some other version ¶ 25 —

163a 1 h coördinates ¶ κοπτοντες αυτοις κατεδιωκον This is good Greek style; the pronoun placed between the two verbs goes with both. Origen, however, added a second αυτοις ¶ 4 יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְכָל הַיִּשְׂרָאֵל was reproduced by Origen (and hence in A^Θ) as μασερεφωθ μα(ε)ιμ; in 13, 6 G alone reads μασερεφωθμαιμ, while AA have μασερεφωθμα(ε)ιμ and Θ μασσερεφωθμαιμ (σ dittographed). The κοινή readings of both passages present themselves as follows:

B ^Θ h	¶	K _{rs} UF	
μασερων	μασερωθ	μασερημωθ απο θαλασσης	
		ε UF	
B	h	ro	UF
μασερεθμεμφωμαιμ	μασεραιθμεμφωμαιθ	μαρεεσεφωθιν	μασεφωθθημα
			μασερεφωθμαιμ
			μαρεφωθμαιμ u
			μασερεφωθμαιθ iz

In the latter passage, the reading of ¶ is corrupt: mū'āla (**ma'ala*; Dillmann emends *ma'as*) σερεθ μαιμ. It is clear that in B μεμ is a pendant to

K 163a

5 θαλασσης· και ε-
ως των πεδιων
μασφαν κατα α-
νατολας· και εκο-
ψαν αυτους· εως
10 του μη καταλει-
φθηναι εξ αυτων
σεσωσμενον· και
διαπεφευγοτα·
9 και εποισεν αυ-
15 τοις ις· καθοτι ειπε

XI

6 πεδιων K] παιδιων s: πεδινων ro: campos 𐤀 | 7 μασφαν Ko] μασφαμ r: μοςφα
𐤀 : μασσηφα s | κατα Kos] κατ r | 10 καταλει- Ks] καταλι- r: καταλη- o | 11 εξ
αυτων KR] > 𐤀 | 12 σεσωσμενον Ks] διασεσωσμενον r: saluus 𐤀 : σεσωσμενους
o | και KR] > 𐤀 | 13 διαπεφευγοτα Ks 𐤀] διαπεφευγοτας r: διαπεφευγωτας o |

13 πεφευγοτα z | 14 ¶ | 1 εποiei iz | 14/15 αυτους l | 15 καθοτι ufi | καθως z |

(των Λ) μασρεφωθ(')μα(ε)ιμ (-μαιν Λ) ΑΘΑΓΣ : μασερων Bh 𐤀 | 6 πεδιων
B rell (𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀) | πεδινων ΛG | 7 μασφαν] μασσηφαθ G : μασσηφα ΑΘ :
μασ[σηφα Λ : 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 : μασσωχ B : μασωχ h : masōh 𐤀 | 9 -ψαν B rell]
-ψεν Α | 11 εξ (habent 𐤀 𐤀 ?) | > B rell | 12 σεσωσμενον] διασεσωσμενον
(-αν h) omn | 12/13 και διαπεφευγοτα h] > B rell | 14 ¶ hAΘ | 14/15 αυτους
B rell] αυτους h | 15 ις B rell] prm o Λ | καθοτι ΑΘΑΓΣ (𐤀 𐤀 𐤀) | ον τροπον

μαιμ and that φω belongs after μασερε (in h the final μ has been replaced by θ; αι, of course, stands for ε); hence B read μασερεφωθμαιμ, the ε after σ (unless a faulty repetition of σ) expressing the --- . The lower readings of ro 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀, corrupt as they are, seem to go back to two variants: μασερεφωθμαιμ (or -μημ) ro 𐤀 𐤀 and μασρεφωθμαιμ 𐤀 𐤀. In the present passage, απο θαλασσης = 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 was inserted by the K recension (all except 𐤀) from σ' (according to Euseb. and 𐤀^m); while 𐤀 𐤀 still express the constr. state, Kr reproduce the absol. state. The μ may be a corruption of β=φ (see above on 162a, l. 8); if genuine, then 𐤀^m read 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀, comp. 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 Jer. 31 (38): 39 *ketib* and transliterations in 𐤀. 𐤀 with its μασερωθ (z for s) comes nearer the original than the μασερων of Bh 𐤀; it is apparently curtailed from μασερημ- (or φ)ωθ. 𐤀 𐤀 has accordingly dropped out of the B texts | 6 Apparently πεδιων was written by 𐤀 (see above on 161b, l. 22) | 7 See above on 162a, l. 8 | 12/13 και διαπεφευγοτα of the K recension a reminiscence from the ground passage 8:22 | 15 ον τροπον was apparently written by 𐤀 | ειπεν

K 163a

αὐτῷ ἔς· τοὺς ἱπ-
 ποὺς αὐτῶν ἐνε-
 ροκοπήσεν· καὶ τὰ
 ἀρματα αὐτῶν ἐνε-
 20 πρησεν πυρὶ· ¹⁰ καὶ
 ἐπεστράφη ἰς· καὶ
 πᾶς ἦλ μετ' αὐτοῦ
 ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκε-
 νῷ· καὶ κατέλα-
 163b βετο τ[ὴν ἀσῶρ·]
 καὶ τὸν β[ασίλεα]
 αὐτῆς· ἡ[ν δὲ ἀσῶρ]
 τὸ προτ[έρον ἀρ-]
 5 χουσα πα[σῶν τῶν]

XI

10

14 ϛ r | 16 αὐτῷ Kasℓ] > r | 17/18 ἐνευροκοπήσεν Krs | ἐνευροκοπήσῃ ο: ἐνευροκοπήσαν ℓ | 19/20 ἐνεπρήσεν K | ἐνεπύρισε(ν) γ: ἐνεπρήσαν (s. ἐνεπύρισαν) ἐν ℓ | 20 ϛ Ks | 21 ἐπεστράφη K | ἀπεστράφη R . 24 —

163b 1 κατέλαβετο | *obsedit* ℓ ' -βετο Krg | -βε s ' ἀσῶρ R | *assor* ℓ (sod *assor* 3, 18; 164a, 15) | 3 αὐτῆς KR | + ἀπεκτείνεν ἐν ρομφαίᾳ ℓ | 4 προτ-

αἰτί | ἐνετελάτο | 16 τοῖς prgm καὶ l | 19/20 ἐνεπρήσεν uf | κατεκαύσε ἰς | πυρὶ] prgm ἐν uf . 20 ϛ ul ' 21 ἀπεστράφη uf

163b 3 ἡ[ν δὲ ἀσῶρ] | ἡ δὲ ἀσῶρ ἦν uf 8 -ναν lf | νε(ν) upt 8-9 πα[τα]

B rell : ἀπε[ν] | ἐνετελάτο omn : 20 πυρὶ] prgm ἐν omn ' ϛ BAΘG . 21 ἐπεστράφη] ἀπεστράφη Bh : ἐπεστρεψεν AΘG : ἀπεστρεψεν A . 21/22 καί — αὐτοῦ h] > B rell

163b 1 τ[ὴν] A et sub ※ Gs] > B rell 2 3 > h 3 αὐτῆς] + ἀπεκτείνεν ἐν ρομφαίᾳ A et sub ※ Gs | ἡ[ν δὲ ἀσῶρ] BΘAG | ὅτι ἀσῶρ ἦν AΘs |

Ksℓ comes closer to the Hebrew than ἐνετελάτο which Origen retained 19/20 For עָרַבְנוּ we find ἐμπιμπραῖναι, ἐμπυρίζειν, and κατακαίνειν. The plural in ℓ is faulty 21 The active intransitive in Origen; the others have the passive. The forms with α are apparently original 21/22 The plus in the K texts and h introduced from parallel passages 24 —

163b 1 *obsedit* ℓ points to a variant τῇν which expresses עָרַב both in Origen (but not in AΘ) and in the K recension 3 עָרַבְנוּ, עָרַבְנוּ which was missing in B¹ or else left untranslated by Θ by way of condensation was supplied by Origen sub ast (hence omitted in AΘ) whence probably it found

K 163b

βασιλεω[ν του-]
 των· "και [απεκτει-]
 ναν παντ[α τα εν-]
 πνεοντα [εν αυ-]
 10 τη εν φο[νω μα-]
 χαιρας· κ[αι ανε-]
 θεματισα[ν αυτη]
 και εξωλο[θρευσā]
 αυτοις πα[ντας]
 15 και ου κατ[ελει-]
 φθη ενπ[νεον ε]
 αυτη· κα[ι την]

XI

11

Krs] πρωτ- ο | 6 βασιλειων Krs] βασιλειῶν ο | 8 [εν-] | εμ- R | 10 εν Κοs] εμ ρ |
 11 -χαιρας Krs] -χερ[ας] ο | [ανε-] Krs] ανα- ο | 11/12 και ανεθεματισαν αυτην
 KR] > ℒ | 12 -θεματισαν K] -θεματισεν R | 13/14 Kℒ] > R | 15/17 και—αυτη
 Krsℒ] > ο | 15 κατ[ελει-] Ks] κατελι- ρ | 16 ενπ- K] εμπ- rs | 16/17 [ε] αυτη

τα εν]πνεοντα] παν εμπνεον UF | 10/11 εν φο[νω μα]χαιρας] εν στοματι ξιφους
 UF | 13/14] > UF | 15/17 και—αυτη uf] > iz | 16/17 ενπ[νεον

6 βασιλειων B rell] βασιλειων © | 8 -ναν B rell] -νε(ν) ΑΛ | 8/9 παντ[α τα
 εν]πνεοντα] παν εμπνεον B rell | 9 [εν] | prm ※ ο : G cf. © | 9/10 [εν αυ]τη B
 rell] > Δ | 10/11 φο[νω μα]χαιρας] στοματι ξιφους ΑΘΑΓS : ξιφει Bh© | 11/12
 και — αυτη[ν]] > omn | 13 εξωλο[θρευσā]] sg. ΑΛ | 14 πα[ντας]] sub τ G S

its way to ℒ *οτι ασωρ ην* S (and so AΘ) faithfully reproduces the Hebrew;
 AG (and so UF) go with B in reading *η δε ασωρ ην*, of which *ην δε ασωρ* Kℒℒ
 represents a graphic variety. 8 In the matter of number again individual
 divergences. 8/9 The plural and the article only in Kℒℒ. 9 ο G sub ast
 expresses אֶת־הַ 10/11 הַיָּמִים appears as *εν ξιφει* in the B texts, *εν*
στοματι ξιφους in Origen (also AΘ and UF), but *εν φωνω μαχαιρας* in Kℒℒ
 which expression (with or without *εν*) is confined to © in five passages of the
 Pentateuch (Exod. 17:13; Num. 21:24; Deut. 13:15 (16); 20:13; 28:22) |
 11/14 *και ανεθεματισαν αυτην* RUF, *και εξωλοθρευσαν αυτοις παντας* all the
 others (B texts, Origen and texts dependent on him, ℒ); K alone has both,
 that is a doublet. See above on 161a, ll. 15/16 *αυτην* the city, *αυτους* the
 persons; the object which is not expressed in the Hebrew made explicit |
παντας was obelized by Origen. 15–17 Condensation in oiz *εν αυτη* which

K 163b

ασωρ' ενε[πρησῆ]
εν πυρι· ¹⁴κ[αι πα-]

XI

12

20 σας τας πολ[εις τῷ]

βασιλεων [τουτῷ]

και αυτοις [τους]

βασιλεις αυ[των·]

ελαβεν ιδ· [και α]

164a

[νειλεν αυ]τους εν

[στομ]ατι ξιφους

[και ε]ξωλοθρευ-

[σεν α]υτους ον

δ [τροπ]ον συνετα-

Krs|>L | 17 ¹ r | 18 ενε[πρησῆ] K | ενεπυρισεν rs: ενεπυρισαν oL | 19 εν Kr|
>L | 21 [τουτῷ] R|>L | 22/23 και — αυ[των] KroL|>S | 23 αυτους Kro|>
L | 24 αυ[των] KrL|>O

164a 1 -νιλεν rs| -νιλεν o 3/4 εξωλοθρευ[σεν] Kr| εξωλοθρευσεν ro:

ε | αυτη | ~ uf | 18 ενε[πρησῆ] | ενεπρησαν uf | 19 ¹ u , 22 αυτους|
παντας uf , 24 ελαβεν | συνελαβεν uf

18 ενε[πρησῆ] CΛS | pl. B rell , 19 ¹ A | 21 βασιλεων B^hCΛS | βασιλειων
B¹ AΘG | τουτω[ν] A et sub ※ GΣ|>B rell , 22 αυτους | παντας A et sub ※
GΣ : >B rell

164a 2 [στομ]ατι ξιφους B rell | ξιφει C¹ 4 -[σεν] hC AΘAG | -σαν B rell |

is wanting in ¹ all except L | 18 Note again individual divergence in the choice of number 21 The same may be observed with reference to βασιλεων and βασιλειων (comp. the same variation above, l. 6); certainly the reading of the first hand of B (= hC), not to mention two representatives of the Hexapla (ΛS), agrees with הַבַּיִלִּים ¹ (though הַבַּיִלִּים would have done away with the awkwardness of the present text) ¹ הַבַּיִלִּים was apparently missing in ¹; both the K texts (except L) and Origen (sub ast; hence the omission in AΘ) made the omission good 22/23 The omission in s in all likelihood due to homoioteleuton 23 αυτους Kro may be an attempt to ease the awkwardness spoken of above; Origen wrote παντας (= כל) sub ast (whence it was admitted to uf; properly wanting in AΘ) 24 o is bent upon condensation συνελαβεν uf comp. συναπαικταιν is 161a, ll. 18 19

164a 3/4 The plural in the B texts and L 7 Contrast 14 9-12 The passage is exceedingly instructive. In the first place we learn that it is

K 164a

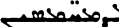


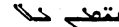

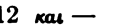
[ξεν μ] ωυσης ο
 [παϊς] κῦ· ¹³ πλην
 [πασας] τας πολεις
 [τας κ] εχωματι-
 10 [σμεν] ας· και εσ-
 [τωσ] ας επι των
 [θιν] ων αυτων
 [ουκ] ενεπρησε̃

XI

13

εξωλοθρευσαν \mathfrak{L} | 6 [ξεν] K | -ξε R | -ωυσης Ks \mathfrak{L} | -ωσης ro | 7 ¶ rs | 9/10
 [κ] εχωματι[σμενας] Kro | κεχωτισμενας s: *disruptas* \mathfrak{L} : + ā εστηκυιας εκ
 χωματος ὁ ιδρυμενας εκαστην επι υψους r | 10/12 και — αυτων KR | > \mathfrak{L} | 12
 [θιν] ων K | θεινων σ: θηνων r | 13 ενεπρησε̃[ν] K | ενεπρισεν R | 14 [εν π] υρι K |

164a 7 ¶ l | 14 [εν π] υρι > UF | 15 [ασωρ]] prn την i | μονην] +

6 μωσης G | 7 ¶ A | πλην] αλλα omn | 8-10 κεχωματισμενα] + αυτων Λ et sub
 ※ G (S^m       1) | 10-12 και —

characteristic of r to incorporate in the text (not, as we are informed by Parsons, in the margin) parallel renderings from the three with the express mention of the translators' names. The circumstance that the plus is omitted in K shows that its omission in o (not to mention s or \mathfrak{L}) is not due to condensation, but that the matter was really wanting in the archetype of ro, and that it is r to whose account the amplification is to be charged; it is quite possible that in the archetype it stood on the margin. Hence, in similar instances, when the testimony of K is not available, an amplification of the same character found in r but wanting in o (s \mathfrak{L}) will have to be excised; in my forthcoming edition it shall find a place in the apparatus but shall be cut out of the text. For, in the light of the information gathered in the course of this preliminary edition, it has become clear that r as the text which comes nearest to K must be made the basis of the larger edition in preference to o which, though the older text, is (aside from its bad orthography) in consequence of its propensity to condensation, ill-suited for the purpose. As for the UF, the data so far accumulated show that group to have been contaminated with the parallel recension of Origen; its variants therefore belong into the apparatus: in so far as they are not taken from Origen, they may exhibit readings of the K recension which ascend to a parallel archetype, and here and there may be preferred to those of the archetype of K and its consorts. Now, a case analogous to the

K 164a	[εν π υρι· ιῆλ· αλλα	XI
15	[ασωρ] μονην ενε-	
	[πρησ]εν ις· 'και	14
	[παν]τα τα σκυ-	
	[λα αυτ]ης προενο-	
	[μευ]σαν εαυτοις	
20	[οι υιο]ι ιῆλ· αυτοις	
	[δε π]αντας εξω-	

>R L | 15 μονην KroL] + αυτην s . 16 -[πρησ]εν K] ·πρισην R | 20 [α] Krs]>

αυτην uf , 17 [παν]τα > iz 18/19 επρονομευσαν z ' 19 εαυτοις] αυτοις f |

αυτων]>omn ' 14 [εν π|υρι]>omn ' αλλα] πλην omn 15 [ασωρ] | prn την A et sub ※ GΣ [μονην] + αυτην CΛΘΛ et sub ※ GΣ (Λ transponit αυτην et ενεπρησεν) ' 16 ις AΘΛGΣ] ιῆλ B rell | 18 αυτης B rell] + και τα κτηνη hΛ et sub ※ GΣ ' 19 20 προενομευσαν h'] επρονομευσαν Bh* rell ' 19 εαυτοις] αυτοις Λ : >h 20 ιῆλ] + κατα το ρημα κυ ο ενεταλατο τω iυ || τω iυ] ις Λ || Λ

present I am in a position to adduce from an earlier passage in this book. 3:13 at the end r alone adds: α' σ' σωρος εις· θ' ασκωμα εν. I have also come across additions peculiar to r which though introduced sine nomine must be estimated in the same manner. Comp. 3:16 ασκητον (after αραβι). On a different footing, however, stands ετοιμως *ibid.*, 17 which is extant in uf likewise. εκ in α''s rendering is evidently an error for επι (comp. Σ^m). On the other hand, σ' is fuller in r than in Σ^m. θ' (comp. Σ^m) is not quoted. There still remains a parallel anonymous rendering (εστωσας επι των θινων αυτων) which all the K texts (except L) present as the second element of the doublet which is peculiar to the recension. Origen, on the other hand, proceeded in his usual mechanical manner by introducing from the parallel version just referred to the last word sub ast; the result (τας κεχωματισμενας αυτων) is awkward enough. What is the Greek for *disruptas* L? 14 εν πυρι K a singular reading. There is nothing in B^m to correspond to it 15 την Origen sub ast (hence not in AΘ) expresses פנך αυτην (s, uf, Origen sub ast, but also AΘ) expresses the suffix in פנהך 16 ις both recensions (also AΘ) = B^m; ιῆλ B texts 17 In iz condensation 17/18 All the texts express פנהך in the place of פנהך והרים פנהך 18 פנהך was supplied by Origen sub ast (hence its omission in AΘ) 19 20 On επρονομευσαν and επρονομευσαν see Helbing, 79 20 The addition in Origen comes from δ:27 αυτοις in all the texts is, according to Maes, an old error for αἰοῖς = αἰθρωποις 20 ff. The omission in iz is one of their extreme cases

K 164a	[λοθρ] ευσεν ις αναι- [ρων] εν στομα- [τι ξι] φους· εως 25 [απω] λησεν αυτους 164b ου κατελειπεν ε- ξ αυτων ουδενα ενπνεοντα· ¹⁵ ον τροπον συνετα- 5 ξεν κ̄̄ μωυση τω παιδι αυτου· και μωυσης ωσαυτως εντειλατο τω ιυ· και ις ουτως	XI 15
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ο | 21 εξω· Ks] εξο· το | 22/23 ανα[ρων] KΓ℥ ανερων ο:>8 | 25 [απω]λεσεν
Krs] απολεσεν ο: απωλεσαν ℥

164b 1 κατελειπεν K_{ro}] κατελειπεν s | 3 ενπνεοντα K_s] εμπνεοντα ro | 5 -ξεν
K] -ξε R | μωση K_u] μωση r: τω μωση o: τω μωση s | τω 2^o K_{ro}] >s | 7
μωσης K_su] μωσης ro | 7/8 ωσαντως ενετειλατο K_{os} u] ~r | 9 ις ουτως K_r

20—164b, 10 αυτους —εποιησεν] > iz | 25 -λεσεν] -λεσαν lptf

164b 1 κατελιπεν lptf | κατελιπον uiz | 5 τω | > lptf | 9 ἱς οὕτως |

et sub ※ GΣ | 22 [-λoθp]ευσεν AGΣ | pl. B rell | 22/23 ἰς αναμωv>omn |
24 εως]και Λ | 25 [απω]λεσεν BAAGΣ | pl. hⓈ

164b 1 κατελειπεν| pl. omn | 1/2 εἰ B_h (cf. **Ⓢ**)]>rell | 2 αὐτῶν| sub +
G_Ṣ | 2/3 οὐδενα ἐνπνεοντα| ουδε εν εμπνεον [[ουδε εν|ουδεν Λ] B rell | 5 μωυση (μωση
G) |pr_m τω B_hAΘΛG | τω|>h | 6 ¶ Θ | και|>**Ⓢ**ΛG_Ṣ | 2/3 μωσης
ωσαντως ενετειλατο B_hAΘ|~ΛG (μωσης) **Ṣ** | 7 ωσαντως|>**Ⓢ** | 9 ιϋ hΘAG|

of condensation || 22, 25, 164*b*, l. 1 The three verbs are consistently singularized in Kr (ῥ is added as an explicit subject after the first, so also ῥuf which therefore singularize the first verb), and just as consistently pluralized in hC[Ⓢ]; all the other texts are inconsistent in their choice of number || 22/23 *αυαυων* to which nothing corresponds in *ῥ^m* only in the K recension

164b 1/2 (εξ) αὐτῶν not in 𐤀^m; obelized in Origen || 2/3 οὐδὲν ἐμπνεοντα characteristic of the K recension || 7/9 Origen (not followed by AΘ) adopted the Hebrew order || 9/10 On the other hand, here only the K texts deviate from the Hebrew order || 11 ρημα = רַב־רַב was added only by the K recension || 13/14 Origen, followed by AΘ, altered the text to accord with צִוְּהוּ יְהוָה

K 164b

10 εποίησεν· ου πα-
 ρεβη ουθεν ρημα
 απο παντων ὧν
 συνεταζεν αυτω
 μωυσης· ¹⁴και ελα-
 15 Βεν ις πασαν την
 γην της ορεινης·
 και πασαν την γῆ
 ναγεβ· και πασᾶ
 την γην εν τω νο-
 20 τω· και πασαν τῇ

XI

16

~L 10 ου Kr| prm et L | 11 ουθεν Ks| ουδε εν ro | 13 συνεταζεν Krs|
 συνεταζε ο αυτω Kr| illis L 14 μωυσης Ks L| μωυσης ro ̅ Kr | 16 της
 ορεινης Kro| της ορεινης s: την ορεινην L 18 ναγεβ Kro| ναγεθ s: εν αγεβ L |
 18 20 και—νοτω Kro|>s L | 19 νο· Kr| νο· ο 20 πασαν Ks L|>ro | 21 γοζομ

~uf | 11 -ρεβη| + ις iz 14 ̅ ul 18 ναγεβ| prm την ufz 1 πασαν| > z |
 19 εν| prm την uf | 20 πασαν| > z 20, 21 την γην| > z | 21 γοζομ| γοσομ

ιησαι BA 9 10 ις ουτως εποίησεν]~omn | 11 ρημα|>omn | 13
 συνεταζεν B rell| ενεταλατο h | 13/14 αυτω μωυσης BhEA] ἄς τω μωυση (μωση
 G) AΘGΣ 14^c BhAΘG 15 πασαν | prm την A et sub ✕ GΣ | την|>ΛΣ |
 16 γην| + ταυτην A et sub ✕ GΣ | της ορ(ε)ινης h | την ορεινην B rell 17
 πασαν| prm την ΛΣ et sub ✕ G | την|>ΛΣ | γη[ν] hEAΘAG|>BΣ : +
 την A 18 ναγεβ hAΘ] αδεβ BΘ : νεγεβ AG(Σ) 18 20 και — νοτω h|

יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּנֵי יִצְחָק; whereas Θ (B texts, K texts) read בְּנֵי יִצְחָק 15 On την
 see above on 161a, 4-6 16 ταυτην=תַּאֲזַר added by Origen sub ast
 Θ probably wrote την ορεινην; see above (*ibid.*) 17 as line 15 γην properly
 omitted in B; it is simply a faulty repetition of την 18 The corruptions of
 ναγεβ admit of easy explanation: in BΘ, the initial ν dropped out by hap-
 lography (after την (γην)), just as in L after εν (its text therefore read εν ναγεβ,
 comp. εν τω νοτω); the change of γ into δ (BΘ) is due to an intermediate τ
 (comp. h 166a, 19 20); on the other hand, the interchange of θ and β
 (through the medium of φ)—comp. ναγεθ s—is an error of sound which may
 be paralleled elsewhere, comp. 165a, l. 3 χειρεβ Θth for χειρεθ. Observe
 νεγεβ AG a more modern pronunciation than ναγεβ (also AΘ) 18/20 The
 parallel rendering of כָּל הָאָרֶץ in the K texts (all but sL) and h is
 derived from א' σ' (see Σ^m); see above on 161a, 4-6 20 The omission of

K 165a

λασσης χενερεθ'
κατα ανατολας
5 και εως της θα-
λασσης της αρα-
βα θαλασσης τω
αλων· απο ανατο-

XII

ro | 6/7 αραβα Kro| ραβα L | 7 τω[ν] K|>ro | 8 αλων Kr| ελων o: nachor L |

ℰⁿ : prm και ℰ | 5/6 θαλασσης]>ℰⁿ | 6 της]>omn | 7 θαλασσης] θαλασσα

cannot be obtained from the scattered variants in Parsons' apparatus, it is advisable to present here the aspect in toto. 13 ¹και ις πρεσβυτερος προβεβηκως ημερων· και ειπεν κς προς ιν· ιδου γεγηρακας συ· και η γη υπολειπεται πολλη εις κληρονομιαν πολλη σφοδρα· αλλα διαδος αυτην ταις φυλαις του ιηλ εις κληρονομιαν· ον τροπον ενετειλαμην σοι· ²και διεμερισεν ις την γην ταυτην εν κληρονομια ταις εννεα φυλαις· και τω ημσει φυλης μανασση απο του ιορδανου· εως της θαλασσης της μεγαλης κατα δισμας ηλιου εδωκεν αυτην· η θαλασσα η μεγαλη ορει· 14 ¹εδωκε γαρ μωυσης ταις δυο φυλαις και τω ημσει φυλης μανασση απο του περαν του ιορδανου· και 13 ¹⁴τη φυλη λευι· οικ εδωκε μωυσης κληρονομιαν· κς ο θς ιηλ αυτος κληρονομια αυτων· καθως ελαλησεν αυτοις· 14 ¹οτι ησαν οι υιοι ιωσηφ μανασση και εφραιμ δυο φυλαι· και οικ εδοθη μερις εν τη γη τοις υιοις λευι· αλλ η πολεις κατοικειν· και τα αφωρισμενα αιταις· και τοις κτηνεσιν αυτων· ²ον τροπον ενετειλατο κς τω μωυση· ουτως επαιτησεν ¹ις ο του ναυη· και ελεαζαρ ο ιερευσ· και οι αρχοντες των πριων των φυλων ιων ιηλ· ²κατα κληρους εκληρονομησαν ταις εννεα φυλαις· και τω ημσει φυλης ³απο του περαν του ιορδανου· ⁴και εμερισαντο την γην·⁵ 18 ¹και εξεκκλησιασθη πασα συναγωγη υιων ιηλ εις σηλωμ· και επηξεν εκει την σκηνην του μαρτυριου· και η γη εκρατηθη υπ αυτων· 15 και κατεκληρονομησαν υιοι ιωιδα πασας τας πολεις αυτων· και τας κωμας αυτων· κατα τα ορια αυτων· κατα δημους αυτων εμερισαντο την γην· 16 ωσαντως και οι υιοι ιωσηφ εφραιμ και μανισση· κατα δημους αυτων· κατεμερισαντο πασας τας πολεις αυτων· και τας κωμας αυτων· κατα τα ορια αυτων· 17 ³και τω σαλπισαδ ιωω οφερ· οικ ησαν αιτω υιοι· αλλ η θυγατερς· ⁴και εστησαν ενωπιον ελεαζαρ του ιερεως· και εναντιον ιν υιου ναυη· και εναντιον των αρχοντων λεγοισαι· ο θς ενετειλατο δια χειρος μωυση· δουναι ημιν κληρονομιαν εν μεσω των αδελφων ημων· και εδουθη αιταις κληρος δια προσταγματος κυ· εν τοις αδελφοις αιτων· ¹η δε γη γαλααδ ²εγενηθη τοις υιοις μανισση τοις καταλειμμενοις· 18 ²⁻⁴ (ms fag an διελειν αιτην) 1-10a 11 19 | 10a 12a 20 21 22 και εκληροδοτησεν αυτοις ις κατα δημους αιτων· κατα

K 165a

λων· οδον την
10 κατα εκμωθα·
απο θαιμαν· και
απο νοτου υπο α-
σηδωθ' την κα-

XII

10 εκμωθα K^r] εκμωθ ℒ : εκμαθα ο | 11 απο K^{ro}] υπο ℒ | θαιμαν K] θεμαν roℒ
| 11/12 και—νοτου K^{ro}] > ℒ | 12 νοτου K^r] νωτου ο | 12/13 ασηδωθ K^rℒ]

10 εκμωθα] κεδμωθ | 11 θαιμαν ltfz] θεμαν upi | 14 φασγα] σφαγα iz | 15 ωρ]

G: θαλασσαν B rell | 9 την B rell] ην h* (την h², τ superscr) | 10 κατα εκμωθα]
κατα ασειμωθ B: κατ ασιμωθ A: κατα ισιμωθ h* (κατα βιθσιμωθ h²)^⓪ : κατα
βηθσιμωθ Λ : κατα βηθσειμωθ G: κατα βηθσιμων ℒ | 11 απο] υπο A^⓪ : prm
και AGℒ | 11/12 και απο νοτου] και απο νοτων h (= σ' ℒ^m): >rell | 12 υπο] prm
την omn | 12/13 ασηδωθ A^⓪] ?^⓪ ℒ : μεσιδωθ Λ : μησηδωθ G : μηδωθ B^⓪ :

τα ορια αυτων· πασας τας πολεις αυτων· και πασας τας κωμας αυτων· * και
επορευθησαν εμβατησαι την γην· κατα τα ορια αυτων· ^{48a. 47} (with δαν, λεσεμ,
λεσεμδαν). ^{47a} 20–21 1–8a. 41 (39). 42 (40). 42a–d. 43–45 (41–43). By means of this singular
condensation, the scribe saved himself the work of reproducing the
troublesome geographical notices and lists of place names. Whether we
are dealing here with a recension, it is difficult to tell. So far as the prin-
ciple of condensation goes and especially the turning of the imperative 13:7
into an aorist, Gaster's Samaritan Joshua presents a certain analogy. I
believe, however, that the scribe of s had before him a Greek text which he
manipulated to suit his own bent of mind || 1 αμμαν roℒ modernizes the
name; but K shows that the archetype read correctly αμμων || Origen in-
serted η to express the Hebrew article (ה) || 3 For an explanation of the β
in χενερεβ ^⓪ see above on 164b, 18. All texts express כנרת for כנרת .
The double ν is, of course, correct || 6 της characteristic of the K texts, but
omitted again in iz || 6/7 ραβα ℒ see on 161b, 18 || 7 θαλασσα or θαλασσαν
loose construction; it is corrected in the K texts || 8 ναχωρ ℒ admits of an
explanation: the initial ν is dittographed after των; χ is an error for λ
(a notable example of this interchange underlies the "seven rivers" of ^⓪
16:3 = , not επτα ποταμοι Dillmann, but επτα χεμ[αρροι] = επταλειμ for
απταλειμ B; ^⓪, of course, wrote απταλει (comp. παλιμ ^⓪ after ορια; hence
απταλειμ preceded the reading απταλειμ) = ^⓪; the Palestinian texts
vary between ιεφαλθι (A^⓪), read ιεφλαθι, hence nearly with the same vowels
as B, but in accordance with the later pronunciation ^⓪ is expressed by φ
which perhaps induced the substitution of θ for τ, and ιεφληται = ^⓪ ℒ^m);

K 165a

τα φασγα· 'και
 15 Οριον ωρ' βασιλε-
 ως βασαν· ος κατε-
 λειφθη εκ των
 ραφαιεν· ο κατοι-

4 XII

ασιδωθ ο | 13/14 την κατα Kro] > L | 14 ¶ r | 14/17 και—κατελειφθη Kro] και
 τον ωγ βασιλεα βασαν ος κατελειφθη s: και ωγ βασιλεως βασαν κατελειφθη L |
 15 ωρ K] ωγ R L | 15/16 βασιλεως Kr] βασιλει ο | 17 -λειφθη Ks] -λιφθη r:
 -ληφθη ο | 18 ραφαιεν K L | ραφαν ro: γιγαντων s | 20 εδραιεν Ks] εδραιν r:

ωγ | 18 ραφαιεν] γιγαντων | 18/19 ο κατοικων] ος κατωκει | 20 εδραιμ u]

μηδων h | 13/14 την κατα] > omn | 14 φασγα] prn και E | ¶ BhAΘ | 14-165b,
 17 και — μανασση] > h | 15 οριον S^m] ορια Λ et sub ✕ G : > B S^z rell | ωγ
 omn | 15 βασιλεως AG (= α γ' sec S^m)] βασιλεάως G : βασιλεως B rell | 16
 βασαν] βασα B | ος EAGS] > B rell | 16/17 κατελειφθη] υπελειφθη (υπολειφθη
 G) omn | 18 ραφαιεν (= σ' sec S^m 𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤍)] γιγαντων omn | 19 ασταρωθ B rell]

the final ρ stands for ν, exactly as 17:11 μαγεδδωρ A stands for μαγεδδων, and conversely 12, 23a ελδωμ B is corrupted from εδδωρ (comp. ενδων h and εδωρ E) ¶ 10 𐤏𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤍 𐤓𐤓𐤏 is faithfully reproduced in GLS (βηθασειμωθ Λ, βηθασειμων=βηθασιμῶ=βηθασιμωθ S, βηθσειμωθ G) comp. also βιθσιμωθ h² =βηθσιμωθ); in the B and K texts 𐤓𐤓 is wanting, either originally, or through haplography after κατα (the element is universally extant in the parallel passage 13:20). As for the second part corresponding to 𐤏𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤍, the readings of the B texts and of AΘ are tolerably correct; not so those of the K texts which vary between εκμωθ (thus apparently the archetype read with L) and κεδμωθ UF. κεδ- may represent a miswritten βεθ-; but εκ- remains a puzzle; contrast 13:20 ¶ 11 υπο AΘ is an error for απο. και of Origen= 𐤏𐤓 ¶ 11/12 Krouf and h introduce a doublet which, according to S^m, comes from σ' ¶ 12 την which the K texts excise treats 'תחת וגר' as an implied relative clause ¶ 12/13 The correct ασηδωθ in the K texts and in AΘ; μηδωθ B (μηδων h=μηδῶ=μηδωθ) comp. vs. 8 A which it is not easy to account for; a conflation of the two readings underlies μησηδωθ (μεσιδωθ) GL; on 𐤏𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤍 S see above on 161a, 6; note that in 13:20 G reads ασδω ¶ 13/14 την κατα the K texts (except L) ¶ 14 ff. The omission in h apparently due to homoioteleuton ¶ 15 The word 𐤓𐤓𐤏 which is represented both in the K recension (not L) and in Origen (not Sⁱ) was wanting in R¹; E accordingly took 𐤓𐤓 as subject and 𐤓𐤓𐤏𐤍𐤓𐤓𐤏 as predicate, a sort of circumstantial clause; Origen, even though, according to some copies (Sⁱ),

K 165a

κων εν ασταρωθ'
 20 και εν εδραιεν
 ἄρχων απο ορους
 αερμων· και απο
 σελκα· και πασης
 της κατα βασαν

XII

5

edrain 𐤀 : αδραιν ο | 21 αρχων Kρο] αρχον s | απο KR] επι 𐤀 | ορους KR] οριον
 𐤀 | 22 αερμων Ks] δερμων ro: ερμων 𐤀 | 22/23 και απο σελκα K] και απο σελχα
 [[σελχαι s]] R: *et fasga* (cum s inscr.) 𐤀 | 23-165b, 7 και· εσεβων]>s | 23
 πασεις ο | 24 κατα βασαν Kr] καταβασεως ο: βασαν 𐤀

εδραιν lptf | 23 σελκα | σελχα | 24 κατα] > uf

ασταρωθ G | 20 εδραιεν B rel] εδραι G : αδραι A : ενεδραιεν 𐤀 | 22 αερμων]
 𐤀 | 22/23 απο σελκα και]>G | σελκα] σελχα A 𐤀 : άσελχα A : σερχα 𐤀 :
 σερχαι B 𐤀 | 23/24 πασης της] πασαν (απασαν G) την omn | 23 ¶ A | 24 κατα]
 >omn

he left the current text intact, at least introduced a relative, which, of course, became a necessity in the K recension as well as in GA; the introduction of the relative should, wheresoever גַּבְרִי had been ignored, have necessitated placing גַּבְרִי in the accusative (comp. vs. 2); this was actually done by s, but a trace thereof remains also in G, the scribe at first starting to write the accusative and then correcting himself; the texts incorporating οριον or ορια naturally wrote the genitive; the latter, according to S^m, was found in the three; hence it is from them also that the noun determined by it came " 16/17 κατελειφθη is peculiar to the K texts " 18 ραφαιεν of Kρο 𐤀 was written, according to S^m, by σ'. Observe the misspelling common to ro which is not shared by the uncial (or 𐤀). Hence in such matters the agreement of ro is no guarantee of correctness 19 ασταρωθ with τ is apparently the older method of transliteration; comp. the much older ασταρτη where the second 𐤀 is treated like the first; G modernizes " 20 𐤀 in all likelihood wrote εδραι; a supposed stroke of abbreviation over the final letter caused the pluralization at the hand of later scribes. ε is better attested than α. In the Greek underlying 𐤀 εν was dittographed " 21 All texts ignore 𐤀 𐤀 " The nominative was suffered to stand by s; by attraction to the relative clause " απο is probably an old error for επι (𐤀; 𐤀 omits the second απο); while the K recension consistently carries on the genitive construction, the other texts continue ll. 23/24 with the accusative " 22 Another instance where ro share an error; the archetype was certainly

K 165b

εως των [οριων]
 των γερ [γεσι και]
 του μαχ[αθι και]
 της ναχ[ι και του]
 5 ημισους [γαλααδ]
 οριου ση[ων βασι-]

XII

165b 2 των Ko|>τ | γερ[γεσι] Kro| γαργασι 1 3 μαχαθι Kr| μαχαθι ο:
 machit 1 | 3/4 και της ναχ[ι] Kro|>1 4 και Kro|>1 | 4 5 [του ημισους]

165b 1 των|>UF 2 των|>τ | γεργεσιν UF 3 μαχαθι| μαλχαθι | 4 ναχι|

165b 1 των|>omn | 2 των|>omn | γερ[γεσι]=γεργισει B^ε | γεσουρι A^Θ:
 γεσουρι A : γεσσουρι G : 𐤒𐤕𐤔 𐤔, 3, 4 του sive της| την| omn | 3 μαχ[αθι]=
 μαχαθ(ε)ι AG : 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤔 𐤔 : μαχατι A^Θ : μαχατ E : μαχει B | 3/4 και της
 ναχι|>omn | 4 5 του ημισους| το ημισυ omn | 6 οριον E| οριων B rel | prm

an uncial 22, 23 The omission in G due apparently to homoioteleuton
 23 σελακ might be original with its κ, but it is confined to K; in Θ, λ
 became ρ through mishearing (similarity of sound); σεκχαι B^ε goes back to
 σεχχαι and that to σελχαι (another instance of the interchange of λ and χ);
 we may even go further and say that E wrote σελχα (comp. 13:11 αχα B
 after εως=σελχα), the ι was joined to α by reason of the following και; fasga
 1 (with inserted s)=φαγα (with spirantic γ, hence)=φαχα=φαχχα=φαλχα
 =θαλχα=εαλχα=σαλχα (in 13:11, however, 1 has εσα r. σελχα) 24 κατα
 peculiar to Kro

165b 2 𐤒𐤕𐤔𐤕 γεσουρι (or γεσσουρι, with σ dittographed, or with
 inner-Greek doubling, or with inorganic Semitic doubling, comp. 𐤒𐤕𐤔𐤕,
 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤔, 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤔, μεσσιας, etc.) was written by Origen (here GA have faultily ε
 at the end) and adopted by A^Θ (13:2 Θ¹ placed ρ over the word apparently
 as a reminder of the other reading) here and 13:2. 11. 13a (13b G reads
 correctly γεσσουρ=𐤒𐤕𐤔𐤕 1^m); the κοινη readings oscillate between γεργεσι
 (γαργασι)—so here all (γεργεσιν UF originated in the same way as εδραι out
 of εδραι, see above 165a, 20), and 13:2. 11 the r texts (including 1 in vs. 2,
 but γεσηρι in vs. 11)—and γεσ(σ)ικουρι (with itacistic variations; also γασικουρι),
 the former by confusion with 𐤒𐤕𐤔𐤕 𐤒𐤕𐤔𐤕 (comp. Euseb.: αυτη δε εστι γαργασει),
 the latter=𐤒𐤕𐤔𐤕 3, 4 The genitive of the K texts expresses the sense of
 1 correctly (observe the 𐤕 with 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤔𐤕), or in consistency with the
 construction above 165a, 23; at all events E placed a stop after 𐤒𐤕𐤔𐤕 and
 took 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤔 over to the following which together the translator made

K 165b

λεως εσε [βων:]
 6 Τουτους [μωυσης]
 ο παις κ̄υ [και οι]
 10 υιοι ῑηλ' ε[παταξε]
 αυτους· κ[αι εδω-]
 κεν αυτ[ην μω-]
 υσης εν [κληρω]
 τω ρουβη[ν και]
 15 τω γαδ' κ[αι τω]
 ημισυ φ[υλης]
 μανασση[: 'και]
 Ουτοι οι β[ασιλεις]
 των αμ[ορραιων]

XII

6

7

Kro] το ημισυ 𐤀 | 5 γαλααδ Kr 𐤁 | γαλαδ ο | 6 οριον Kro] οριων 𐤀 | ση[ων] Kr
 𐤁 | σιων ο | 7 εσε[βων] K 𐤁 | εσσεβων ro | 8 𐤀 | > r | τουτους Kr] > 𐤀 | μωυσης
 ro | 9 οι K] > ο | 10 ε[παταξε] Kr] επταξαν os | 11/12 εδωκε ο | 12/13 μωυσης
 ro | 14 τω Kro] τοις υιοις 𐤀 : > s | 16 ημισυ Ko] ημισι r: ημεισει s | 17
 μανασση Kro] μανασση s 𐤁 | 𐤀 r | 19 αμωραιων s | 20 ανηλεν ο | 21 οι] > ο |

ναχθι u : συναχθι f : συναχι z : αναχθι i | 8 𐤀 | > ul | 9 ο παις κ̄υ] > z | οι] > i |
 10 επταξαν UF | 11 αυτους] > z | 12/13 μωυσης εν κληρω] ~ z | 14 ρουβ(ε)μι

εως A et sub ※ G S | σιων G (𐤁 𐤁) | 7 -λεως B rel] ω sup ras A^{ab}
 (-λεως A^{*fort}) | 8 τουτους] > omn | μωυσης G | 10 επταξαν omn | 12/13 μωυσης
 G : + ο παις κ̄υ A et sub ※ G S | 13 κληρω A ⊙ | κληρονομια B rel | 14 τω]
 > omn | ρουβηλ C S | 15 τω 1^o] > omn | 16 ημισυ G] ημισει B rel | 17 𐤀

dependent on מַחֲטִי under the force of the כ in the first half of the verse ||
 מַחֲטִי μαχαθ(ε)ι or μαχατι, the latter in the B texts and 𐤁 in ch. 13, and
 in A ⊙ here (but *machit* 𐤁 is apparently corrupt, possibly a conflate; see
 further on); here B (but not C) reads μαχει which I take to be a corruption
 from μαχθι = מַחֲטִי. This B reading is introduced in the K texts (except
 𐤁; unless *machit* is a conflate of *machati* and *machi*) as a parallel (doublet);
 further below (22/23) where the clause is repeated (perhaps from the margin
 of the archetype; then inserted in the wrong place as so often with marginal
 notes) the spelling is ναχοι in Kr, μαχω in 𐤁, ναθι in iz, but ναχθι UF exactly
 as is read in u here); of course, ν stands for μ | 6 Note how the manuscripts
 divide in an arbitrary fashion on the question of number : εως A and sub ast
 G S (so Lagarde's codex; there is no reason why the obelus should be

K 165b

20 οἷς ἀνεί[λεν ἰς]
 καὶ οἱ υἱο[ι ἰὴλ ἔ]
 τω περα[ν του ι-]
 ορδανου [καὶ της]
 ναχοι· κ[αὶ του]
 166a [ἡμισο]υς γαλααδ
 [παρὰ θα]λασσαν
 [ἀπο βα]αλγαδ ἐν
 [τῷ πε]διῷ του
 5 [λιβαν]ου· καὶ εὐς

XII

23-166a, 9 καὶ — εἰρα]>s | 23 της Kro] ἐν L | 24 ναχοι Kr] ναχῇ ο: macho L | 24 —

166a 1 του ημισους] το ημισυ L | 1 ημισους ο | 2 παραθαλασσεος ο | 3 ἀπο βααλγαδ Kro] balladon L | 5 καὶ KL]>ro | 7 [χελ]εχ Kro] chelga L | 8/9 ση-

urx : ρουβεν ltfi | καὶ]>z | 12 ¶ 1 | 22 του]>z | 23 της]>f | 24 ναχοι] ναθι iz : ναχθι rell

166a βααλγαδ u¹ ltfz] βαλγαδ u* : γααλγαδ i | 4 του]>f | 6 του 1°]>UF |

BhAΘG | 19 των αμορραιων B^{ch} rell] της γης S | 20 ἰς sup ras A* (μυνσης A⁴fori) | 23 —

166a 1 καὶ — γαλααδ]>omn | 2 θαλασσαν] prgm την A | 3 ἀπο]>omn | βααλγαδ ΘΑΓS (𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤀) | βαλγαδ A : βααλγαδ C : βααλγαδα B : γαλααδ h | ἐν B rell] εὐς h² | 4 τῷ ΑΘΑΓ]>B | 4 5 του λιβανου B^{ch}ΑΘΑΓS | λιβανω

adopted with Maes, the word not being found in the κοινή texts), hence 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤀 must have read 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤀, an error due to the aberration of the eye to 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤀 above. 7 K shows that εσεβων with one σ is the correct spelling. ε = 𐤅 | 8 τουτοις the K texts (all except L) resumptive. 9 Note condensation in z. 10 The plural should be restored also in Kr. 13 The second 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 only in Origen. κληρω all the K texts and AΘ is certainly to be rejected in favor of κληρονομια B rell; κληρος = 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏, and κληρονομια = 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏. 14 15 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏, 𐤏𐤏, C did not express the gentilic. 16 ημισυ is not miswritten for ημισει; the difference is grammatical, see Helbing, 51. 19 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 only in S; all the other texts express 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏.

166a 3 ἀπο was wanting in C; apparently 𐤁 was missing in 𐤁; for the translator's exegesis comp. note on 161b, 24 25. Restore βααλγαδ everywhere; γαλααδ h (comp. γααλγαδ i) for βυλααδ, see above on 164b, 21/23; βαλλαδων L is gen. plur. of βαλλαδα, comp. βααλγαδα B = βααλγαδ. 5 καὶ

[του ορ] ους του

[χελ]εχ'· αναβαι-

[ΝΟΥΤ]ΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΣΤΗ-

[εἰρα·] καὶ ἔδωκε

10 [αυτη] ν ις ταις φυ-

[λαῖς ἰ] ἡλ' κληρο-

[νομε] ιν κατα

[κληρ]ον αυτων

[⁸ΕΝ ΤΩ] ορι· και εν

8

15 [τω πε]διω· και

[εν αρ]αβα· και ε

K 166b

ον και τον γερ-
 γεσαιον ⁹τον βα-
 5 Σιλεα ιεριχω και
 τον βασιλεα της
 γαι· ή εστιν πλη-
 σιον βαιθλ' ¹⁰και

XII

9

10

7 γαι KR] *geth* 1 | *εστι* s | 8 βαιθλ Krs] *βεθλ* o 1 | και KR] > 1 | 9 των s |

166b 4 τον z] prm και υfi | 8 βεθλ i | 10 τον βασιλεα] > f | 14 λαχης u |

prm και Bh 6 | post nomina oppidorum A et sub ✕ G 5 add *ενα* | 8 βαιθλ]

repeated once more (in the form of *καναναιος*) in the place which belongs to it 3/4 και τον γεργεσαιον peculiar to the K recension (all except 1; iz, however, excise also και τον υβουσαιον; note the inverted order in υf); comp. Maes: "Monet hic Syrus in nonnullis libris post τον υβουσαιον adscriptum fuisse και τον γεργασσαιον, sed hoc in Hebraeo non habetur" 4 και Bh 6 υfi an inferior reading, induced by the sequel 5 ff. Origen alone added sub ast *ενα* after each city name 7 The codices escape the tedious repetition of και τον βασιλεα with each new name in a variety of ways; some begin condensing the text at an earlier, some at a later stage. It is safe to say that these contractions do not go back to 6. As for B, its archetype evidently had και in each instance (see below); moreover, βασιλεα was written compendiously βα (see below) 10/11 βασιλεα χεβρων dropped out in G through carelessness; the total was not affected, because G erroneously treated *χερμελ* vs. 22 as the name of a city 12 1 alone reproduces יְרִיבְיָהוּ 13; all the others presuppose יְרִיבְיָהוּ or יְרִיבְיָהוּ or (if *ον* stands for *ω*) יְרִיבְיָהוּ 15 עֵגְלוֹן, introduced by Origen into his text as *εγλων* (hence A 6 and also υf) in the place of the *κοινη* reading (as preserved in Bh 6 1) *αιλαμ*; the latter apparently meant to Origen a hopelessly corrupt form which he could in no wise admit. Critically handled, *αιλαμ* is equivalent to *αιγλαμ* (the spirantized *γ* omitted; comp. 17:3 *ela* 1 and *γ* in *εγλα* sup ras B?) = *αιγλαν* = *εγλαν*. 1 which kept the *κοινη* form added βασιλεα *gongola*; whatever the *γ* (*g*) may stand for, *ογγολα* is manifestly a corruption from *εγγελα* (comp. *εγγελα* Compl. = עֵגְלוֹן Jerem. 31 (78): 34; corrupted in the codices as *αγγελια* (v. s) = *εγγελα* = *εγγελαν*. s likewise adds: και *εγλωμ*; but in the place of the *κοινη* form, it reads with Kro *οδολ(α)μ*. Here reveals itself a substantial difference between Origen and the recension embodied in Kr. A concordance of all the passages in which the name עֵגְלוֹן occurs in Joshua shows that, though the three gave a form corresponding to the

K 166b	τον βασιλεα ιλημ'	XII
10	και τον βασιλεα χεβρων· ¹¹ και το βασιλεα ιεριμουθ'·	11
	και τον βασιλεα λαχεις· ¹² και τον	12
15	βασιλεα οδολαμ'	

10 και KR]>℥ | τον βασιλεα Kρο℥]>s | 11 και KR]>℥ | τον]>ro | 11/12
τον βασιλεα]>s | 12 ιεριμουθ Ks] ιεριμουθ ro: ιερμουθ ℥ | 13 και KR]>℥ | τον]
>ro | τον βασιλεα]>s | 14 και]>℥ | τον]>ro | 14/15 τον βασιλεα]>s | 15 οδο-

15 οδολαμ] αιγλωμ UF: + και τον ιεριμουθ iz | 16 τον βασιλεα]>fi | 17 γαζερ]

γεθ'ηλ A | και]>omn | 9 τον]>omn | 10 και τον]>omn | 10/11 βασιλεα
χεβρων]>G | 11 και τον]>omn | ιεριμουθ] ιεριμου A : ιαρημουθ Ⓢ cf. iarimuth
Euseb ^{Hier} || 13, 14 και τον]>omn | 15 οδολαμ] αιλαμ BhⓈ : εγλωμ AG:

Hebrew (comp. for 10:5 α' σ' θ' 85^m et sine nomine 58^m; for vs. 23 α' σ', for vss. 34 and 37 σ' 5^m; read, of course, everywhere εγλων), Origen conservatively retained the Ⓢ reading οδολλαμ; that is to say, if G5 may be taken to represent the Hexapla (or Tetrapla, comp. the note in 5 at the end of the book). AⓈ naturally followed Origen (in 10:37 there is an omission in Ⓢ; comp. a similar omission in f). A doubt, however, may be raised as to what Origen really introduced in his text on the ground of the marginal note in 85 on 10:34 according to which both ο' and α' read αιγλωμ. This reading is extant in 15 (αιγλων). 64. Ald. (αγλων); and so also in vss. 5. 23; while in vs. 3 αιγλωμ is found in the text of 58. It may therefore be argued that in one form of his recension (possibly the Tetrapla) Origen was emboldened to introduce the correction. Observe that in vs. 33 where 85 vindicates for ο' the reading οραμ we find ωραμ (the better spelling) in 64. Ald. (comp. αραμ 58 and the still more corrupt reading 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤍 of 5). The entire subject, however, cannot be prosecuted here at length. So much is certain that, when Origen was forced to supply an omission, he unhesitatingly took over from his source the Hebrew form of the place-name; so in 10:36 ✕ απο εγλωμ: G5, sine notis A (with the form εγλων in 19. Compl.). Whereas 58 presents the doublet απο αιγλωμ οδολλαμ, it is interesting to observe that in h[Ⓢ]ⓈⓈⓈⓈ the addition reads απο οδολλαμ. Hence the other recension, while adopting the same plan as did Origen with reference to supplying suppositious lacunae in the current text, nevertheless held itself to the tenor of Ⓢ, a critical procedure which must excite admiration. AⓈ, while accepting Origen's corrections, do not follow him in admitting asterisked additions.

K 166b

και τον βασιλεα
 γαζερ'·¹³ και τον
 βασιλεα δαβειρ'
 και τον βασιλεα

XII

13

λαμ Ks] οδολλαμ ro : + και εγλωμ s : gongola 𐤀 | βασιλεα] prm regem aelam
 𐤀 | 16 και] > 𐤀 | τον] > ro | τον βασιλεα] > s | 17 και] > 𐤀 | τον] > ro | 17/18 τον
 βασιλεα] > s | 18 δαβειρ Krs] δαβηρ o | 19 και] > 𐤀 | τον βασιλεα] > s | 20 γεσσειρ

αζηρ ufi: αζιρ z | 18-22 ordo oppidorum Klptf] γεσειρ, ερμα, αραδ, δαβιρ
 u: omn inserunt βαιθηλ post αραδ | 18 δαβειρ] δαβιρ ulf: διαβιρ ptiz |

εγλων 𐤀𐤂𐤃 | 16, 17, 19 και τον] > omn | 20 γεσσειρ] ασει B : ται h : ḡṣī 𐤀 :

The K recension is thus true to its canon in reading in the present passage οδολλαμ. On the basis of the *κοινή* reading and its casual correction in Origen the two names are identified in 58^m on 10:37: η οδολλαμ λεγεται και αιγλαμ. There remains the passage 15:39 where again the *κοινή* reading seemed hopelessly corrupt to Origen who therefore introduced the Hebrew form; he was not followed by the other recension. The introduction of οδολλαμ in 12:12 on the part of the K texts necessitated its excision from vs. 15; naturally those texts which read in the former place αιλαμ or εγλων kept οδολλαμ in the latter. The total XXIX of 𐤀 (Bh 𐤀𐤂𐤃) remained unaffected in ro by the addition of βαιθηλ in vs. 16 in accordance with 𐤀^m. In uf, the retention of οδολλαμ by the side of αιγλωμ together with the addition of βαιθηλ and the duplication of vs. 22b (to κοδμαν comp. κομμαν ro 𐤀 is prefixed the Hexaplar form ιεκοναμ) increases the number by three; hence λβ' u, for which f faultily have ιβ' (comp., however, 24:12 all texts except 𐤀𐤂𐤃 which read *two* with 𐤀^m and h which has *twenty-nine*!). Origen naturally counted XXXI with 𐤀^m; though the representatives of his recension are not in agreement with one another in vss. 18b. 19a. 20a, if we consult A 𐤀 we may be reasonably certain that Origen wrote λεσαρων, μαδων, ασωρ, σαμρων μαρων. A 𐤀 both count XXIX, i.e. they reproduce the *κοινή* reading, though A introduces a supernumerary φασγα after σαμρων, and 𐤀 inserts βαιθηλ and λεπαρῶ (read λεσαρῶ) and treats μαρρῶ in 20a as a separate locality. 𐤀^s apparently wrote XXIX; the number was reduced by the omission of βαιθηλ and the contraction of vs. 18 (where 𐤀^s omitted the second בַּלְיָךְ; לַבְיָיִךְ was then correctly understood by the translator after the analogy of לַבְיָיִךְ 22b, לַנְּפֹת דָּוִד 23a, לַבְּלִיל—thus 𐤀^s read for לַבְּלִיל 𐤀^m—23b: 𐤀 wrote εφεκ (or αφεκ) της σαρων; the corruptions in Bh 𐤀𐤂𐤃rouf may be readily explained: B, aside from the change of ε to ο, omitted one σ by haplography; in its archetype σαρων was written σαρῶ,

K 166b	20	γεσσειρ'· ¹⁴ και βασι- λεα ερμου· και βα- σιλεα αραδ'· ^{15a} και βα- σιλεα λομνα· ¹⁶ και βα- σιλεα μακηδα·	14 XII 15a 16
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K] γεσειρ rs: γεσηρ o: γαζειρ 𐤅 | και|>𐤅 | 20/21 βασιλεα|>s | 21 ερμου Kr𐤅 |
ερμου ro | και|>o 𐤅 | 21/22 βασιλεα|>s | 22 αραδ Kr | αραδ 𐤅 | και|>ro 𐤅 |
22/23 βασιλεα|>s | 23 λομνα K | λοβνα ro: λεμνα 𐤅 : + βασιλεα οδολλα 𐤅 |
και|>ro 𐤅 | 23/24 βασιλεα|>s | 24 μακηδα Krs | μακιδα o: mageda 𐤅

20 γεσειρ] γεσιρ viz: γαισηρ f | 22 αραδ] αραδι u | 23 λοβνα | inter λοβνα et
μακηδα inserunt οδολλαμ (οδολαμ F)

γαδερ AΘAGS | και|>omn | 21 ερμου] ερμουθ Bh 𐤅 | και|>omn | 22 αραδ] αιραθ
βασιλεα αραθ B : αιραε β. αραθι h : αραθ 𐤅 : αδερ AΘAGS | και|>omn | 23
λομνα] λεμνα 𐤅 : λεβνα BΘAGS : λεβμνα A : + β. οδολλαμ AGS : + β.
οδ. β. βαιθηλ 𐤅 | και|>omn | 24 μακηδα AΘAGS] ηλαδ B : αηλαδ h : ηδαχ 𐤅

the sign of abbreviation was then overlooked; on the other hand, the initial κ of the following και—the archetype apparently read και βασιλεα—was dittographed; h has σαρωθ, as frequently with ω; in rouf the τ of της became γ, and in ro the initial α was lost through haplography; in both the κ of αφεκ became γ pronounced ν before the following γ, hence the ν of υf; αφεεκσαρρους 𐤅 shows a dittographed ε, της is ignored, ρ doubled, ω rounded to ου, and θ (misread σ) as in h); on the other hand, the omission of 19a (𐤒𐤓𐤕 a mere variant of 𐤒𐤓𐤕 20a; see above on 161b, 10) was offset by the breaking up of 20a into two (𐤅 read 𐤅𐤕𐤕 𐤅𐤕𐤕 𐤅𐤕𐤕 || 17 υf stand with their αζηρ alone || 18–22 u stands alone with its order || 20 Correct ται h to γαι and that (comp. B and 𐤅) to γασει=γασειρ comp. γαζειρ 𐤅 and γε(σ)σειρ K texts. In all probability, 𐤅 wrote γαδερ=𐤕𐤕 for 𐤕𐤕 𐤅 reproduced in Origen (and AΘ) || 21 ερμουθ of the B texts with archaic fem. ending 𐤕𐤕 || 22 Bh clearly represent a doublet, which is proved not only by the omission of the first in 𐤅, but principally by the fact that the count of XXIX is not affected. αιραθ (corrupted in h to αιραε)=εραδ (ε for 𐤕) and αραθ (corrupted in h to αραθι)=αραδ are clearly parallels; perhaps the former is genuine || αραδ 𐤅 with a dittographed after βασιλεα || αδερ Origen quite unlikely, unless 𐤅 read 𐤕𐤕; it may have arisen through assimilation to γαδερ || 23 On λεβνα and variants see above on 161a, 2 || Through the insertion of βαιθηλ in the wrong place, the order in vss. 15 f. is shifted in υf. 𐤅, not A, introduces βαιθηλ in front of μακηδα || 24 𐤅 wrote

K 167a

ἜΚαι τοῖς ἡμισεσι

7 XXII

φυλῆς μανασση

ἐδωκεν μωυσῆς

ἐν τῇ βασαν· καὶ

5 τοῖς ἡμισεσιν ἐ-

δωκεν ἰς· μετὰ

τῶν ἀδελφῶν

αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πε-

ραν τοῦ ἰορδανου

10 παρα θαλασσαν· καὶ

167a 1 ⲉ ρ | τοῖς ἡμισεσι KR | τῷ ἡμισεῖ 2 φυλῆς Kro 3 | +
 υἱων s | μανασση Krs | μανασση ο 3 ἐδωκεν Ks | ἐδωκε ro | μωυσῆς Ks
 4 | μωυσῆς r: ἰς o | 4 ἐν τῇ Kro 5 | τὴν s | 4-6 καὶ—ἰς Krs 6 | >o | 5 τοῖς
 ἡμισεσιν Krs | τῷ ἡμισεῖ 8-10 ἐν—θαλασσαν Krs 11 | >o | 11/12 ἀπεσταλεν

ul(p)tr

167a 1-4 καὶ—βασαν>F (sed φυλῆς μανασση f superscr) 1 ἡμισεσι

B^ehAΘA^s

167a 1 ¶AΘ | τοῖς ἡμισεσι ΘA | τοῖς ἡμισεῖ A : τῷ ἡμισεῖ B : τῷ ἡμισυ
 h | 3 μωυσῆς B rell | ἰς A | 4 τῇ sup ras 3 circ litt A' | βασαν ΘAΘ^s |
 βασαν(ε)ιτιδι BhA | 5 τοῖς ἡμισεσιν ΘA | τοῖς ἡμισιν A : τῷ ἡμισεῖ B : τῷ
 ἡμισυ h | 8/9 ἐν τῷ περαν τοῦ ἰορδανου BhΘΘ | παρα τον ἰορδανην A : > A^s |

μακηδαθ: μα was lost after βα (as βασιλεα was written compendiously), κ was lost through haplography in another ancestor which omitted βασιλεα and read in its source κ (=καὶ) κηδαθ; what remained became ηλαδ (spirantic δ in B) and, with α of βασιλεα dittographed, αηλαδ in h; on the other hand, ηδαθ was misread (χ for λ=δ=θ) as ηδαχ in C.

167a 1-4 Omission through homoioareton or condensation in F (but note the trace in f superscr); a similar condensation in o (see the variants 3, 4-6, 8-10) which inconsistently retains ἐν τῇ βασαν. 1 The plural all except Bh^u; ἡμισεῖ A probably an error, comp. ἡμισιν A in l. 5 which is certainly an error; hu refrain from declining; similarly l. 5 3 ἰς A is an error as it is in o, though there the error is coupled with condensation. 4 Bh followed by A Grecize the name; the K recension and Origen (the latter followed by AΘ) have the Hebrew form. 8-10 The K texts as well as the B recension present the full Hebrew text; there is no reason to assume that Origen had anything different; ^s (followed by A, but not by Θ) omits the first part, A the second (hence παρα τον ἰορδανην for ἐν τῷ περαν του ἰορδανου). 11, 12 The form minus the εἰ- is peculiar to Kro. 12, 13 o con-

K 167a

ηνικα απεστει-
 λεν αυτους ις εις
 τους οικους αυ-
 των· ηυλογη-
 15 σεν αυτους *λε-
 γων· εν χρημα-

XXII

8

K| απεστειλεν r: απεστειλε o: εξαπεστειλεν s: *dimisit* L | 12 αυτους KrsL|>o
 , 13 οικους KrsL|>o 14 ηυλογη· K| ευλογη· R | 16, 17 εν| cum L χρεμασιν

lpt| ημουν u 5 ημουν u | ημουν u 10^e | 11 εξαπεστειλεν ultf. 14 ηυλογη|

10 παρα θυλασσαν B rell| κατα θυλασσαν h : >Δ .^e B^{vid}hAΘ 11/12
 εξαπεστειλεν omn 14 15 ηυλογησεν| και ευλογησεν omn 15, 16 λεγων AΘ|

denses 14 The omission of *και* in KruL makes better Greek. The temporal augment with *eu-* only in K, see Helbing, 75 15 ff. In *Ms* vs. 8 apparently read: ובנכסים רבים טבר אל אלהיהם וניקה רב נאד וכסד וקהב. On ונקהב which I have placed in parentheses see on ll. 22-23. The principal deviation from *Ms* consists in the reading טבר (minus the vowel letter) which taken as a perfect (טָבַר) entrained the pointing הָלַק or הִלָּק and the change of the suffixes from the second to third person as well as the excision of אֲנִי לְאֵלֵהֶם. A less important difference was the dropping of the preposition in front of נִקְהַב and the following nouns which caused the translator to place the caesura at אֲלֵהֶם. Such is the text and exegesis underlying Bh. A crude approachment to *Ms* constitutes the introduction at the head in C of *και επι προς αυτους*, the rest remaining as it is in Bh. Not less mechanical was Origen's procedure who left the text of the *κοινη* essentially intact except that he inserted after the first *και* the words *επι προς αυτους λεγων* (Lagarde follows Maes in placing *προς αυτους* alone sub ast; his Syriac MS reads: *עמ אענן* **לענן*; neither is correct; for if we follow the lead of AΘ which retain *λεγων* and omit *και* we should have to place *και επι προς αυτους* sub ast; if, on the other hand, B is our guide then *επι προς αυτους λεγων* should be put sub ast; the decision rests with the determination of the exact relation of AΘ to Origen into which question I am not in a position to go beneath the surface at the present writing); if he at all connected any sense with the text thus established (and certainly AΘ must have wrested some sort of meaning from the text as read by them), he took as the subject of the two verbs not the half-tribe of Manasseh, but Reuben and Gad (the presumable subject of *επορευθησαν* in vs. 6). Accordingly, in

K 167a

σιν πολλοις ανα-

XXII

λυεται εις τους

οικους υμων

20 και εν κτηνεσῖ

πολλοις σφοδρα·

και αργυριον και

χρυσιον· και σι-

δηρον και χαλκῶ·

Kr] χρημασι s: χρημασι o* | 17 πολλοις Krs] πολλις o: πολλης o¹ | 18 -λυεται Ko] -λυετε rs | 17/18 αναλυετε Kr] ile ℤ | 20 εν κτηνεσιν K] εν κτηνεσι R: κτηνη ℤ | 21 πολλοις Kr] πολλα ℤ | 22 και Kr]>ℤ | 24 και χαλκον Kr]>ℤ

ευλογη- : pṯm και ltṯ | 20 κτηνεσῖ] κτημασι u | 22-

και Bh : pṯm και ειπε προς αυτους 𐤀𐤔 | 17/18 αναλυεται] απηλθοσαν BAA : απηλθον Θ : εισηλθον h: 'ataḡū 𐤀 : 𐤀𐤔 | 𐤔 | 19 υμων 𐤔 | αυτων B rell | 20/21 εν κτηνεσῖ πολλοις 𐤀] και κτηνη πολλα B rell | 21 σφοδρα]>h | 22/23 και σιδηρον και χαλκῶ] 𐤀𐤔𐤀𐤔 : και σιδηρον Bh : >AΘ : sub ※ 𐤔

dismissing Manasseh, Joshua informs them that Reuben and Gad were gone already and that it therefore was now their part to go likewise. This bit of harmonistic exegesis is on a line with that of Rashi who naturally was bound by the received text to introduce a minor modification. The K texts which with AΘ retain λεγων go a step further in assimilating the text to 𐤀𐤔, though they diverge in details: KRUF introduce the imperative and the second person of the pronoun in the first half of the verse (αναλυετε characteristic of this recension; it certainly did not come from σ' who wrote 𐤀𐤔𐤀𐤔 according to 𐤔^m), while they leave the remainder substantially the same as in B (except that the preposition is restored in front of 𐤀𐤔𐤀𐤔; ufi prefix και in front of διελοντο so as explicitly to dissociate the second half from the first; z left out και as it so often does); ℤ, on the other hand, goes on with the imperative and the second person of the pronoun in the second half of the verse as well, but introduces in addition the κοινη form at the end in the reading of ufi || 17/18 ile ℤ does not appear to reproduce αναλυετε but probably απελθετε || 19 𐤀𐤔𐤀𐤔? 𐤔 is probably an error for 𐤀𐤔𐤀𐤔? || 20 κτημασι u seems to have preserved the original Greek, though etymologically the Hebrew might be rendered κτηνη || 𐤔 22/23 places και χαλκον και σιδηρον sub ast; this accords well enough with AΘ which omit the entire phrase; but Bh have at least και σιδηρον which reading is shared by ℤ; the other K texts go with Origen || 22 ff. z condenses

K 167b

και ιμα[τισμον]
 πολυν δ[ιελον-]
 το· πασα[ν την]
 προνομ[ην των]
 5 εχθρων [αυτων]
 μετα τω[ν αδελ-]
 φων αυ[των:]
 9 και επορ[ευθησα]
 οι υιοι ρο[υβην]
 10 και οι υιο[ι γαδ']
 και το ημ[ισυ φυ-]
 λης υιων [μανασ-]
 ση· απο τ[ων ικ-]
 ων ιηλ' εν[σηλω]

XXII

9

167b 2 πολυν K_o | πολλυν rs: + σφοδρα s' 3/4 δ[ιελον]το K_g | διηλοντο
 (per compendium) o: διελαντο s: *diridelis* L | 3/4 πασα[ν την] προνομ[ην] K
 την προνομην πασαν Γ: την προνομην (προνομιν ο*) πασαν ο: την προνομην s: *de*
praeda L | 5 [αυτων] K_R | υμων L | 7 αυ[των] K_R | υμων L: + και διελοντο την
 προνομην μετα των αδελφων αυτων L 8 ρ 9, 10 οι > ο | 11 τω Γ | 12 ιων
 K_{rs} L | > ο | 12/13 [μανασ]ση K_R | μαναση L | 14 εν K | εκ R L | [σηλω] K_g

167b 2 και — πολυν (σφοδρα) | > z' 2 πολιν | + σφοδρα' 2 3
 διελοντο] p_{rm} και υfi' 3/4 πασαν την προνομην | 6, 7 | > iz 8 ρ ul 9
 ρουβιν lt: ρουβ(ε)ιμ uf 9-13 οι—μανασση] ονται z 14 εν i | εκ rell | 16 τη]

167b 2 πολιν | + σφοδρα C_AΘA_S 2 3 διελοντο h | διελαντο B rell | 3
 πασαν | > omh 5 αυτων C_AΘA: sub ※ S: > Bh | 8 ρ hAΘ και] p_{rm} και
 απιστρεψαν C_A et sub ※ S, 11 ημισα h | 12 ιων B | > hC_AΘA_S 14 εν

167b 2 σφοδρα omitted by BhKroL was apparently missing in C
 2, 3 διελαντο is the vulgar form; Kro as well as h have the classical aorist
 3 πασαν which is wanting in B^m only in Krouf 5 αυτων was omitted by C,
 the article as so often doing service for the pronoun 6 7 iz condense
 7 Origen alone added και απιστρεψαν sub ast; from him it penetrated into C
 9-13 z condenses 9, 10 o omits the article as elsewhere often 12 ιων
 B and the K texts except o which merely condenses, not in B^m 14 εν C
 probably read ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ, a shortened relative clause σηλωμ h_sL = σηλων
 comp. μαγεδδων for μαγεδδω (comp. ⲙⲁⲓⲉⲃⲃⲱ and Lagarde, *Übersicht*, 187)

K 168a

[ιοι ρου]βην και οι
 [ιιοι γ]αδ' και το
 [ημισ]υ φυλης μα-
 [νασσ]η· εκει βω-
 10 [μον ε]πι του ιορ-
 [δανο]υ· βωμον
 [μεγα]ν τω ιδειν·
 [και η]κουσαν οι υ-
 [ιοι ιηλ'] λεγοντω-
 15 [ν· ιδου]ωκοδομησᾶ
 [οι υιο]ι ρουβην και
 [οι υιο]ι γαδ' και το
 [ημισ]υ φυλης μα-
 [νασσ]η βωμον ε-
 20 [φ ορι]ων της χα-

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11

+ ιων το 8 9 μαναση 11 βωμον Ks 11 >ο 12 τω ιδειν Kr] του ιδειν s:
 in conspectu domini 11 : >ο 13 οι >ο 14 15 λεγοντων Ksr¹] λεγωντων r* |
 14-168b, 1 λεγοντων—ιηλ >ο 16, 17 ρουβην, γαδ Krs] ~ 11 17 τω r | 18
 φυλης] + ιων s | 18 19 μαναση 11 | 19 20 ε[φ] Ks] επ r | 20 της K] γης rs

ρουβιν lti: ρουβ(ε)ιμ uf | 9-11 βωμον — ιορδανου > | 12 τω] του | 13 ε | 15
 ωκοδομησαμεν u | 16, 17 ρουβην, γαδ] ~ ρουβιν lti: ρουβ(ε)ιμ uf | 20 της]

AΘΑΣ] ~ Bh^e 8 ημισει hA 11 τω] του omn: prm επι B (>B^{ab}) | 13 ε A |
 14 15 λεγοντων >ε 15 ιδου|στι ε 16, 17 ρουβην, γαδ AΘΑΣ] ~ Bh^e | 18
 ημισει B^ahA 19 20 εφ οριων της] επι των οριων γης B^a: εφ οριων γης B^a vid:b

None of the recensions followed σ' in treating the word as a common noun. Observe the slight corruptions in r (χ for spirantic γ) and os (δ for spirantic θ). 4-23 The omission in z may be due to homoioteleuton; but probably at the same time it serves the purpose of condensation. 5-9 s condenses 6, 7. The Hebrew order in Kro and in Origen's recension with its dependents; so also 16 17 and 169a, 5-7. 9-11 The omission in tfi due to homoioteleuton. 12 Inner-Greek variants. o condenses 11 paraphrastic? 14 ff. In o the omission which is due to homoioteleuton serves at the same time the purpose of condensation. 18 ιων s an addition. 20 οριων of the three recensions (only h diverges) goes back to וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל in the place of וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל.

K 168a	[νααν] επι του γα- [λιλα]θ' του ιορ- [δανου α]πο μερους	XXII
168b	των υιων ιηλ. ¹² Και συνηθροισθη- σαν οι υιοι ιηλ' πα- τες εις σηλω· ωσ- 5 τε αναβηναι και εκπολεμησαι αυτους· ¹³ και απεσ- τειλαν οι υιοι ιηλ' προς τους υιους 10 ρουβην· και προς τους υιους γαδ'·	12 13

ℒ | 21/22 γα[λιλα]θ Kγ ℒ | γαλιλαδ s | 23 [α]πο μερους K] επι μερους rs: in parte ℒ

168b 2 ¶ r | συνηθροισθη- o | 3/4 οι υιοι ιηλ παντες Kγ] παντες οι υιοι ιηλ
ℒ : παντες o | 4 εις Kγo] εν s | 4 σηλω Kγ] σιλω o : σηλωμ sℒ | 4/5 ωστε
Ks] ωσται o : ωτε r | 5 αναβηναι Kγo] αναβειναι s | 8 α superscr o | 10/11 ρου-

γγς | 23 απο] επι

168b 2 ¶ | >ul | ; 4 εις] εν i | 7 ¶ l | 8-14 α — γαλααδ] προς αυτους iz |

ⓈAΘΛⓈ : εν γη h | 21/22 του γαλιλαθ] >Λ | γαλιλαθ] Ⓢ : γαλιλω ΑΘ :
γαλααδ BhⓈ | 23 απο μερους] εν τω περαν omn

168b 1 των] >omn | 2 ¶ BhAΘ | και] prtm και ηκουσαν οι υιοι ιηλ ⓈA et sub
× Ⓢ | 3/4 οι υιοι ιηλ παντες] ~omn | 4 εις] εν h | σηλωμ h | 5 αναβηναι
και] αναβηναι ΑⓈ : αναβαιντας Λ : αναβαιντες B rell | 6/7 εκπολεμησαι αυτους]

της K is an error for γης " 21/22 See above on ll. 1/2 21-23 Ⓢ Ⓢ
Ⓢ = εν τω γαλιλαθ επι comp. 15. 18. 64. 128 23 απο (or επι) μερους all the K
texts; comp. μερος = Ⓢ Exod. 32:15

168b 1 Origen's recension alone (thence into Ⓢ) added sub ast και
ηκουσαν οι υιοι ιηλ; either the first three words of vs. 12 were missing in Ⓢ^e,
or were omitted by the translator, the clause being merely resumptive of
the identical clause at the head of vs. 11; comp. the analogous case 10:41
(161a, 18/19) 3/4 o condenses None of the recensions express Ⓢ^e
5, 6 Note the paratactic construction in the K recension; the infinitive was
written also by Origen, but he subordinated the second infinitive thereto

K 168b

και προς το ημισυ
 φυλης μανασση·
 εις την γαλααδ' το
 15 φινεες· υιον ελε-
 αζαρ' του ιερεως
 "και δεκα ανδρας
 των αρχοντων
 των μετ αυτου·
 20 αρχων εις απο οι-
 κου πατριας απο
 πασων των φυλω
 ιηλ· αρχοντες οικω

XXII

14

βην—ιους]>ο | 9-13 τους—μανασση] αυτους s | 10/11 προς τους ιους]>ℓ
 | 13 φυλης] + ιων γ | μανασση ℓ | 14 το Kℓ] + τε R | 15 φινεες ℓ | 17 δεκα]
 i roℓ 19 των]>γ 19, 20 μετ αυτου αρχων εις] αρχοντα ενα μετ αυτων ℓ | 21
 πατριας] prgm ei ℓ | 20, 21 απο οικου πατριας]>s | 23 ιηλ] prgm ιων ℓ οικων]
 >ο

ρουβιν lt: ρουβ(ε)ιμ uf | 13 φυλης ltf] + ιων u | 14 την] γην | τον] + τε | 16
 αζαρον i: + υιον ααρων ιερεως u] αρχιερεως u^mlrf | 19 των]> | 23 ιηλ] prgm
 ιων t

~Λ | 7 ε ΑΘ | 12 ημισυ hA | το] τους ιους B | 14 την] γην Bh@AΘS : την
 γην Λ | το h] + τε B rel | 16 αζαρ] + υιον ααρων B. rel: + υιον ααρων h:
 sub + S ιερεως h@AΘS] αρχιερεως BAΘ | 17 ανδρας]>omn 19 των Λ]>
 B rel (post αρχοντων × in Θ) 20 αρχων] prgm και C^h Λ | 21 πατριας] + αυτων
 C 22 των ΑΘΛ | 23 αρχοντες] prgm ανδρες @AΘS | οικω] οικον h

(so at least S and A; contrast ΘΛ which follow the B texts) 8-14 is
 condense 9-13 s condenses 10/11 ℓ condenses 12, 13 "the sons," "of
 the sons," Bru, not in ℔ 14 γην or την γην was apparently written by Θ
 τε is a Greek embellishment with which the translator may be credited
 16 The καινη addition which may go back to יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן נִוְנִי and which Origen
 placed sub obelo was excised by the K recension (and re-introduced in uf)
 Θ apparently wrote αρχιερεως (B, followed by ΑΘ, also u^mlrf) which Origen
 and the K recension corrected into ιερεως (so also h) 17 ανδρας peculiar to
 the K recension 19 των should be deleted 20 There does not seem to be
 any good reason for the conjunction 20/21 Omission through homoiote-
 leuton in s 23 ιων, as so frequently, an idle addition ανδρες (@AΘS) goes
 back to Origen = יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן נִוְנִי ℔

K 169a

πατριων εισι

XXII

χιλιαρχοι ιηλ' :

¹⁵Και παρεγενον-

15

το προς τους υ-

5 ιους ρουβην· και

προς τους υιους

γαδ'· και προς το

ημισυ φυλης υ-

ιων μανασση·

10 εις γην γαλααδ'

και ελαλησαν

προς αυτοις λε-

γοντες· ¹⁶ταδε

16

λεγει η συναγω-

15 γη κ̄υ πασα· τις

η πλημμελεια

αυτη· ην επλημ-

μελησεται εν̄-

τι θ̄υ ιηλ'· αποστρα-

169a 1 [πατριων]] πατρικων ℒ | εισι s | 3 ¶ r | 4-12 τους — προς] > o | 5/7 ρουβην, γαδ] ~ ℒ | 4-10 προς — γαλααδ] > s | 8/9 ιων] > ℒ | 9 μανασση ℒ | 10 γην] την ℒ | 13 ¶ r | 14 λεγη o | 14/15 η συναγωγη κ̄υ πασα Kro] πασα συναγωγη κ̄υ sℒ | 16 πλημμελεια Ks] πλημμελια ro | 18 -μελησατε ro¹

169a 3 ¶ u | 4-11 προς — ελαλησαν] > iz | 5/7 ρουβην, γαδ] ~ | 6 > f | ρουβιν lt] ρουβ(ε)μ uf | 14/15 η συναγωγη κ̄υ πασα] ~ | 14 η] > z | 18 -μελησατε | 19 θ̄υ] prm του | 22/23 υμιν εαυτοις

169a 1 πατριων] + αυτων € (cf. σ' ℒ^m) | 3 ¶ hAΘ | 5, 7 ρουβην, γαδ AΘ] Λℒ ~ Bh€ | 7/8 το ημισυ hΘΛ] τους ημους BA | 8/9 ιων] > omn | ημους h* ημισυ h² | 10 γην hΘΛℒ] την B€A | 13 ¶ hAΘ | 14/15 η συναγωγη κ̄υ πασα] ~ omn [[η>h]] : + οι υιοι ιηλ sub ※ ℒ | 18 -μελησατε omn | 18/19 εναντι

169a 1 αυτων € may be an innocent addition by the translator as so frequently elsewhere; but σ' (according to ℒ^m) had it, and it is found in ℒ^m || 4-12, 4-11, 4-10 Various methods of condensation (o, s, iz) || 6 f condenses || 8/9 ιων K texts (except ℒ) not in ℒ^m || 10 την B€A an error for γην || 15 The addition οι υιοι ιηλ ℒ sub ast is shared by none else and is probably an error (the phrase may have been introduced from vs. 12) || 18 -μελησεται

K 169a

20 φηναι σημερῶ
 απο κυ οικοδο-
 μησαι αυτοις υ-
 μιν βωμον· και
 169b [γενεσθαι υμας]
 αποστατ[ας απο]
 κυ· ἰμῃ μ[ικρον]
 υμιν το [αμαρτη-]
 5 μα φογ[ωρ οτι]
 ου κεκα[θαρισμε-]
 θα απ αυ[του εως]
 της ημε[ρας ταυ-]
 της· κα[ι εγενη-]
 10 θη πληγ[η εν τη]

XXII

17

(-μελησται ο*)s | 19 θυ] prm του R: prm κυ L | 21 οικοδο- K] οικοδο- ο:
 prm και ο | 21/22 οικοδομησαντες L | 22/23 αυτοις υμιν K] υμιν αυτοις r: υμιν
 εαντοις s L: υμιν ο 23 και] > L

169b 1/2 γενεσθαι υμας αποστατας KR] αποστατας υμας γενεσθαι L | 2 απο]
 > ο 3 μῃ] η (sed v. Robert) L | 4 αμαρτι· ο | 5 οντι ο | 6/7 κεκα[θαρισμε]θα
 Krs] κεκαθαρισθημεθα ο | 10 πληγ ο* (πληγη ο¹) | 13 [-ησεσθε] Krs] -ησεσθαι ο |

169b 1-2 γενεσθαι υμας αποστατας] αποστατας υμας γενεσθαι | 5 φογορ z |
 6,7 κεκαθαρισμεθα (θα superscr) z | 15-17 και — σημερον (απο κυ)] > z |

AA] εαντιον B rel | θυ] prm του BhΘ : prm κυ του A | 21 απο] + οπισθεν
 EA et sub ※ S | 21/22 οικοδομησαντες omn | 22/23 αυτοις υμιν] ~ Bh:
 εαντοις AΘΛS 23 και E] > B rel

169b 1-2 γενεσθαι υμας αποστατας] αποστατας υμας γενεσθαι B rel:
 αποστατας γενεσθαι υμας A : + σημερον EA et sub ※ S 3 κυ] prm του B
 A 4 υμιν hEAΘΛ] ημιν BS 6,7 κεκαθαρισμεθα hAΘ] εκαθαρισθημεν BA 10
 πληγῃ] prm η A : πλημμελια h | 12/13 αποστραφησεσθε AΘS] απεστραφητε

K, a plain error for -μελησται 19 LA are isolated with their plus |
 21 οπισθεν was added by Origen so as to express אַחֲרֵיהֶם (the asterisked word
 also in E; naturally not in AΘ) 22/23 Origen omitted υμιν and retained
 εαντοις (so also AΘ) because the Hebrew had only one word 23 και of E
 and the K texts (except L) is not in the Hebrew

169b 2 σημερον was added by Origen, = יוֹם (also in E) 10 The
 article which is found in A goes back to Origen; comp. הַכּוֹנֵן 12/13 The

Κ	169b		XXII
		συναγωγ[ῃ κ̣υ]	
		¹⁸ και υμε[ις απο-]	18
		στραφ[ησεσθε]	
		σημερον [απο κ̣υ]	
15		και εστ[αι εαν α-]	
		ποστητ[ε σημε-]	
		ρον και α[υριō]	
		επι παν[τα ιἡλ]	
		η οργη εσ[ται:]	
20	¹⁹	Και νυν ε[ι μικρα]	19
		υμιν η γ[η της]	
		κατασχ[εσεως]	
		υμων· δι[αβητε]	

14 σημερον]>Ξ | [κῡ] KR) + θῡ νμων Ξ | 15-19 και εσται αυριον επι παντα
 ιηλ η οργη ο: και αυριον επι παστα ιηλ εσται η οργη s | 15 εσται]>Ξ | 17 -ρον]
 + απο κῡ rΞ | 19 εσται η οργη rsΞ | 20 ¶ rs | ει]η ο | 21 η]>ο | 23 νμων Krs]
 >ο: κῡ Ξ

16 -ποστραφῆτε | 17 -ρον]+ απο κῦ | 19 η οργη εσται] ~ | 20 ¶ u

Bh $\Theta\Lambda$ | 14 $\alpha\pi\sigma$] $\sigma\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$ Θ | 15 ¶ Θ | $\epsilon\alpha\nu$] + $\nu\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\Theta\Lambda$ et sub \times \S | 16/17
 $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu$ ($\alpha\pi\sigma$) in mg et sup ras A^{*} ($\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu > A^{*vid}$): $\alpha\pi\sigma$ $\kappa\upsilon$ omn | 17 $\kappa\alpha\iota$] >
 Θh | 19 η $\sigma\rho\gamma\eta$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$] ~ B : $\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\rho\gamma\eta$ hA $\Theta\Lambda$: η $\chi\omicron\varsigma$ | $\iota\sigma\lambda$ \S | 20 ¶ >
BhA Θ | 21 $\nu\mu\omega\nu$ η $\gamma\eta$ h Θ A Θ] | η $\gamma\eta$ $\nu\mu\omega\nu$ B : η $\gamma\eta$ $\Delta\S$ | 23 $\delta\alpha\beta\eta\tau\epsilon$] + $\nu\mu\omega\nu$ \S

translator apparently wrote the aorist (whether **Ⲭ** read **ⲥⲃⲏⲙ**, or whether the translator not understanding that the clause was interrogative took the imperfect in the sense of an aorist, it is difficult to say); both recensions (note, however, that **Ⲉ** goes with **Ⲕ**) have correctly the future tense || 14 **ⲟⲩⲱⲥⲥⲉⲛ** of **Ⲅ** may be grounded after all in Ethiopic idiom; but see above on 169a, 21 || 15–19 In s the omission may be due to homoioteleuton, comp. z; but it may just as well represent condensation, comp. o || 15 **ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲥ** = **ⲁⲩⲁ** was added by Origen (also in **Ⲅ**) || 17 **ⲁⲓⲱ** **ⲕⲱ** omitted in **K** through error || **ⲕⲁⲓ** of the apodosis all except **ⲛⲄ** || 20 Maes suggests that **Ⲅ** wrote **ⲡⲁⲣⲁ** which was then corrupted into **ⲡⲓⲕⲣⲁ** || 21 **ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲛ** of the **K** texts also in **ⲛⲄⲈⲈ**; **B** has a redundant **ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲛ** (which perhaps represents an original **ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲛ**) deleted by Origen || On the other hand, **ⲥ** adds **ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲛ** after **ⲁⲓⲁⲃⲉⲛⲉ** l. 23 || 23 **ⲕⲱ** **ⲕⲁ** a clear error which led to the omission of **ⲕⲱ** in l. 3 of the next column

K 170a

XXII

[εις την γην της]
 [κατα]σχeseως
 [κῦ· ο]υ εστιν η
 [σκηνη] η κῦ και
 5 [κατα]κληρονο-
 [μησε]ται εν η-
 [μιν·] και απο κῦ
 [μη α]ποσταται
 [γινε]σθαι· και
 10 [υμει]ς μη απο-
 [στητ]αι δια το
 [οικοδ]ομησαι υ-
 [μας β]ωμον εξω
 [του θ]υσιαστη-
 15 [ριου] κῦ του θυ

170a 3 κῦ KR]>℥ | εστιν] επι ℥ | 6 -μησατε rs: -μισαται ο (αι corr in ε):
 + αυτην ℥ | 6/7 υμιν r | 8 αποστατε r | 9 γινεσθε r: γενησθε s | 7-9 και μη απο
 κῦ αποσταται γενησθε ℥ | 10 υμεις Kr℥] αφ ημων s: >o | 11 -στητε rs¹

170a 3 εστιν] κατασκηνοι εκει | 6 -μησατε | 6-12 -ται — οικοδομη-]>i |
 7-9 και — γινεσθαι] και μη απο κῦ αποσταται γενηθητε | 10 υμεις] απο ημων |

170a 1 εις] επι A | 3 ου] οπου Λ | εστιν] κατασκηνοι εκει omn | 4 σκηνη]
 κιβωτος A | 6 -μησετε B] -μησατε hAΘΛS | 7-9 και απο κῦ μη αποσταται
 γινεσθε cf. S] και μη αποσταται απο θυ γενησθε B : και μη αποστατε απο θυ
 γενηθητε h: και μη απο κῦ αποσταται γενηθητε AΘ : απο κῦ μη αποσταται
 γενηθητε Λ | 10 υμεις B^{ab} superact h^{cfb}] απο ημων AΘΛS | 11 αποστητε

170a 3 εστιν KR(℥) against all the other texts and ℞^m || 4 The reading of A is singular (or sub-singular, comp. 121) || 6 K goes with B in reading the future || αυτην ℥ superfluous || 7-9 Kr come nearest to S comp. Λ in that the order of the Hebrew is strictly adhered to; with AΘ (comp. υf) the witnesses mentioned share κῦ=יְהוָה ℞^m; the essential difference between these two recensions (K and Origen) and the B recension consists in the name of the Deity (θῦ in the latter) || 10 יְהוָה was expressed by Origen only (it passed into AΘ, but also into υf); ℞^m probably read יְהוָה (hence υμεις of the other texts), which, of course, is an inferior reading; o merely condenses || 11 The addition in Bh^c due to the faulty reading discussed in

K 170a	[ημω]ν· ²⁰ ουχ ει-	20 XXII
	[δου α]χαρ ο του	
	[ζαρα] πλημμε-	
	[λιαν] επλημμε-	
20	[λησε]ν· απο του	
	[αναθ]εματος·	
	[και ε]πι πασαν	
	[την σ]υναγωγῇ	
170b	ἰῆλ εγενηθη οργη·	
	και ουτος εις μο-	
	νος ην· μη μονος	
	αυτος απεθανε·	
5	εν τη αυτου αμαρ-	
	τια: ²¹ και απεκρι-	21
	θησαν οι υιοι ρου-	

-στειτε s* | 12 οικωδομοσαι ο | 16 υμων s | ¶ rs | 16/17 ουκ ιδου R | ιδου]>℥ | 19 -λιαν Kro] -λεια s: *neglegens* ℥

170b 1 ἰῆλ]>ο | οργη] + κῦ ο | 2 ουτος Kr ℥] ουτως r: αυτος ο | 2/3 εις μονος] *unius* ℥ | 4 αυτος Kr] ουτος s℥ : >ο | 5 τη] τι ο | εαυτους | 6 ¶ rs |

16/17 ουκ ιδου | 18-20 πλημμ. επλημμ.]~i

170b 1 ἰῆλ]>z | οργη lti] prtm η uf | 2 εις ltfi]>uz | ; 4 αυτος ltfi]>uz | 5 εν]> | αυτου ltfi]>u | 6 ¶ l | ρουβιν lti: ρουβ(ε)ιμ ufz | 8 α]>fz | α ιναι]>i |

AΘΛS] + απο κῦ Bh € | 16 ¶ A | ουχ Ah* (ουκ h¹) | 17 αχαρ B€^{1b} rell] αχαν AS | 18 ζαρα] 'αζδτ €^{1b} | 19 -λ(ε)ιαν] λ(ε)ια omn | 20 -λησεν] ε sup ras A* | 23 την AΘΛ

170b 1 εγενηθη] ενηθη sup ras B^{11*} | 2/3 μονος sub τ S | 3 ην AΘ] sub emnisco S : >BA | μη μονος]>B | 3/4 μονος αυτος cf B] μονος ουτος AΘ: ουτος μονος A et sub τ S | 5 εν] >AA | αυτου ΘΛ] εαυτου AB | 2/6 και —

the last note ¶ 17 αχαν=כח ℥^m only AS ¶ 19 The MSS waver between the dat. and accus. to express the inner accus. in Hebrew

170b 2-6 It is clear that the text of B is faulty; the words ην μη μονος dropped out through homoioteleuton; thus barring minor points all three recensions agreed. Perhaps נל ℥^m goes back to תנל נל by the side of which תנל ℥^s was a justifiable variant ¶ 10 υων not in ℥^m ¶ 11/12 i condenses ¶ 13 λεγοντες all, not in ℥^m, hence sub obelo Origen ¶ 14-16 Origen's text which is identical with that of AΘ (comp. also s) was, as the obelus shows, substantially the same as the current text; the differences between it and B are slight (B transposes κς εστιν and omits the last κς; with the B text goes also ℥, minor differences notwithstanding); the introduction of

K 170b

βην και οι υιοι γαδ'

XXII

και το ημισυ φυ-

10 λης υιων μανασ-

ση· και ελαλησα̃

τοις χιλιαρχοις·

ι̃ηλ' λεγοντες·

²⁰ο θς̃ αυτος εστιν

22

15 κς̃ ο θς̃· και ο θς̃ αυ-

τος οιδεν· και ι̃ηλ'

αυτος διαγνωσε-

ται· ει εν αποστα-

σεια πεπλημμε-

20 ληκαμεν εναν-

τι κ̃υ· μη ρυσηται

ημας εν ταυτη·

²³Και ει οικοδομησα-

23

8 α|>ο | ραί ℒ | 10 υιων Ks|>ρο ℒ | μαναση ℒ | 13 λεγωντες ο | 14-16 ο θς̃·
 θς̃ κς̃ εστιν· και ο θς̃· θς̃ κς̃ οιδεν αυτος s: ο θς̃ θς̃ εστιν και ο κς̃ και ο θς̃ αυτος
 οιδεν ℒ | 14 εστι ρο | 15 ο θς̃ 2°|>ο | 16 οιδε ρο | 16-18 και—διαγνωσεται|>ℒ |
 19 -σια R | 21 ρυσηται K| ρυσεται ο: ρυσετο s: libetℒ ℒ | 22 ταυτη Kℒ| pr̃m
 τη ημερα R | 20 ¶ rs | 23 οικοδομησα· R

9 φυλης| pr̃m της i | 11/12 ελαλησαν τοις χιλιαρχοις| ειπον αυτοις i | 12
 χιλιαρχεις u | 20/21 εναντι| εναντιον s: απεναντι rell | 21 κ̃υ| pr̃m του t | 21
 ρυσεται | 22 ταυτη| pr̃m τη ημερα

αυτου|>h 6 ¶ hAΘ | 9 ημισυ hA | 10 υιων|>omn | 13 λεγοντες sub + s̃ | 14-
 16 ο θς̃ ο θς̃ κς̃ εστιν και ο θς̃ ο θς̃ κς̃ αυτος οιδεν [|o 2°|>A | εστιν και| sub + s̃ |
 ο 4°|>A] AΘΛs̃ : αυτος ο θς̃ θς̃ θς̃ αυτος εστιν· και ο κς̃ κς̃ αυτος οιδεν h: ο
 κς̃ αυτος εστι θς̃ και κς̃ και θς̃ θεων αυτος ο κς̃ οιδεν e: ο θς̃ θς̃ εστιν κς̃ και ο θς̃
 θς̃ αυτος οιδεν B 17 διαγνωσεται| γνωσεται omn | 18/19 αποστασει AΘ | 19/20
 πεπλημμεληκαμεν Θ| επλημμελησαμεν BhAA | 21 κ̃υ| pr̃m του Bh | ρυσηται Δ|
 ρυσαιτο BAΘ: ρυσαιτω h (e corr) 22 ταυτη Bh| pr̃m τη ημερα AΘΛs̃ | 23 ¶ >

αυτος in the first clause distinguishes the text of Krouf from the others. All the texts err exegetically in that they look in the first clause for a confession of faith. Properly rendered, the Greek should run as follows: ο θς̃ ο θς̃ κς̃ ο θς̃ ο θς̃ κς̃ αυτος οιδεν. Certainly ℒ^a and ℒ^m were identical 16-18 The omission in ℒ probably occurred in a Latin MS 21 ℒ^a read יְהוָה־יְהוָה which is certainly the better reading 22 K goes with Bhℒ; ταυτη sc. τη ημερα; it goes without saying that Origen supplied the words (hence also in AΘ and υρ), but they are also found in R

NOTES ON THE NAME יהוה

BY GEORGE F. MOORE

V. PORCHETUS DE SALVATICIS: JOHOVAH¹

In writings on the history of the pronunciation *Jehovah* it is sometimes noted in passing that this hybrid form was used before Galatinus by Porchetus de Salvaticis (or Sylvaticis), but no one seems to have pursued the inquiry farther. The source of this piece of learning, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is an editorial note on Drusius, *Tetragrammaton*, c. 19, in the Amsterdam edition of the *Critici Sacri* (1698), Vol. I, Part 2. Drusius wrote: "Fieri potest ut errem, tamen inclino ut credam parentem lectionis *Jehova* Petrum Galatinum esse," on which the editor remarks in a bracketed note: "Ante Galatinum usus fuit hoc nomine Porchetus, qui scribit *Jehova* semel aut bis, alias semper appellat, *Jod, He, Vau, He*. Scripsit autem auctor ille anno Christi 1303, uti patet ex capitulo sexto. In eodem est *Juhuda* pro *Jehuda*. *Johovha* [sic!] est cap. 13. part. 1. Sic *Juhuda* & *Jehuda*. *ibid.*"

Reland, in his reprint of Drusius in the *Decas exercitationum philologicarum de vera pronuntiatione nominis Jehova*, Utrecht, 1707, took over the bracketed notes of the preceding editor along with Drusius's own annotations; but in this instance, by typographical error, the first bracket is lacking.

Porchetus's *Victoria* is a comparatively rare book, and in my earlier contribution on this subject in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies* (I, 147) I could do no better than quote the above statement after Reland. A few months ago I had opportunity to examine a copy of the work in the Royal Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Munich with results which seem of sufficient interest to be worth recording.

The full title of the volume is: *Victoria Porcheti adversus impios Hebraeos, in qua tum ex sacris literis, tum ex dictis Talmud, ac Caballistarum, et aliorum omnium authorum, quos Hebraei recipiunt, monstratur veritas catholicae fidei.*

¹ See *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, I, 143-64 = *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. XII (1908), 34-52; *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XXV (1909), 312-18.

Ex recognitione R. P. Aug. Iustiniani ordinis Praedicatorii, episcopi Nebiensis.

Francois Regnault. Cum gratia et privilegio. [Paris, 1520].

Porchetus was a Carthusian, native of Genoa, who flourished at the end of the thirteenth century; the *Victoria* was finished in the year 1303. The author acknowledges his large indebtedness to Raymundus Martini, which is indeed everywhere apparent, but his work is not a mere abridgment of the *Pugio Fidei*. The Tetragrammaton is sometimes printed in Hebrew characters and then spelled out, e.g., “יְהוָה, id est Jod, He, Uau, He,” “יְהוָה, Jod, He, Uau, He, quod est Sem hammeforas, i.e. nomen expositum”; more frequently it is simply spelled, “Jod, He, Uau, He.” In several places, however, it is written as the author pronounced it. Thus in Part ii, c. 1, “in quo probatur, quod Messias est Deus,” arguing from Jer. 23:5 f., he writes: “Ecce dies venient, dicit Dominus, et suscitabo vel erigam David germen justum. Regnabit rex et intelliget et faciet judicium et justitiam in terra. In diebus ejus salvabitur Juhuda et Israel habitabit ad fiduciam. Et hoc nomen ejus quo vocabunt eum Johouah, i.e. Deus, justus noster.” Similarly on Jer. 33:16: “In diebus illis salvabitur Juhuda et Hierusalem habitabit ad fiduciam. Et iste qui vocabit eam Johoua [sic], supple est, vel Jod, He, Uau, He, justus noster.” Again (fol. 57): “Et est vocans regem Messiam nomine suo. Et quod est nomen eius? Johouah, vel Jod, He, Uau, He, nomen eius, sicut dictum est Exod. 15, Dominus vir pugnae, Jod, He, Uau, He, nomen ipsius. Et de rege Messia scriptum est, Hier. 23, Et hoc nomen ejus quo vocabunt eum, vel quo appellabunt eum, Jod, He, Uau, He, justus noster.” And again (fol. 58), “Hinc reducendum est quicquid praemissum est in rationis ordinem atque dicendum: Cum gloriosius nomen dei de cunctis nominibus, videlicet Johouah, vel Jod, He, Uau, He, vel nomen quatuor literarum, quod pro sui dignitate nullus praesumit Judaeus suis antedictis quatuor literis nominare, sed dicunt loco ipsius Adonai, ut supra dictum est—si istud inquam tam gloriosum nomen soli deo convenit,” etc.

In two places (fol. 60) I have noted *Ihouah*: viz, “Ihouah, vel Jod, He, Uau, He,” and, “habetur quod Deus est vocans Messiam nomine suo, quod est Ihouah, vel Jod, He, Uau, He”; but this

is more probably a printer's error than an inconsistency of the author, since in the same quotation on fol. 57 he writes *Johouah*. *Jehova* I was unable to discover anywhere.

The regular form in the *Victoria* is, therefore, *Johouah*. That this is the author's way of writing it, and not the addition of a scribe or the editor, is certain. Porchetus, who was evidently a competent Hebrew scholar, considered the transcription of Hebrew words carefully; to discriminate the Hebrew sibilants he even employs a character not in the usual Latin alphabet (ç), the sound of which he explains; he regularly indicates ֿ by doubling the vowel, and expressly cautions copyists against altering his transliteration. The form *Johouah* is in conformity with his rendering of other Hebrew names, for example, *Juhuda*, wherein he follows accurately the rule of the old Jewish grammarians that the reduced vowel before a guttural should take the color of the following full vowel.²

The last of the longer passages quoted above from Porchetus (fol. 58) is transcribed by him from the *Pugio Fidei* (see *Old Testament and Semitic Studies*, I, 146), where two manuscripts of the *Pugio* itself have *Yehova*. The pronunciation *Yohova* is also found in one of the codices of the *Pugio* in another place. This pronunciation is itself an indication of relative antiquity: the tradition of the Massoretes of Tiberias, transmitted by the North African and Spanish grammarians, was lost in the succeeding centuries, and the custom of uttering the reduced vowel as a kind of short obscure *e* established itself. *Johouah* is the older and more learned, *Jehouah* the later transcription. I see no reason to change the opinion which I expressed in a former article that *Yehova* and *Yohova* in the *Pugio* came, not from the author, but from the hands of copyists. It is certain, however, that only a generation later, Porchetus himself, with deliberate reflection transcribed the name *Johouah*.

VI. THE DATE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF GALATINUS

In my former article I had occasion to note that the *De arcanis catholicae veritatis* of Petrus Galatinus was published in 1518, not in 1520, as has been frequently repeated in modern times.³ Professor B. B. Warfield, of Princeton, was kind enough to call my attention

² Ibn Ezra, *Saḥūth*, 1 b, after Jehuda Ḥayyuj; the rule comes from the Massoretes of Tiberias, and is formulated by Ben Asher in the *Dikdūke ha-Ṭe'amim*.

³ *Old Testament and Semitic Studies*, I, 145.

to the fact that quotations are sometimes made from an edition described as published at Bari in 1516. Thus F. Prat, in the article "Jehovah" in Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (II, 1224): "Il est faux que le plagiaire Galatin soit l'auteur de la prononciation Jehovah. Il la donne au contraire comme connue et reçue de son temps. Cf. *Arçana cathol. veritatis*, Bari, 1516, I, x (il-y-a par erreur deux chapitres x, c'est le premier), p. 77."⁴

Panzer, *Annales Typographici*, Vol. VI, p. 174, records such an edition: "Petrus Galatinus de arcanis catholicae veritatis. Barii MDXVI. fol. Bibl. P. Nor."⁵ Neither the British Museum, nor the Royal Library in Berlin, which has a still more complete series of the editions (six in all, the last in 1672), has an edition earlier than that of Ortona, 1518. In Munich I found in the catalogue of the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek an edition entered "sine loco et anno," with a penciled note, "Bari, 1516." Examination of the volume showed, however, that it was the edition of Ortona, 1518. The error of the bibliographers has a very simple, if not altogether creditable, explanation. The title-page of the volume bears no date. On fol. 309b, at the bottom of the page, stands this *explicit*: "Peractum est (diuina opitulante gratia) opus de arcanis catholicae ueritatis, ex iudaicis codicibus nuper excerptum, etc. Barii: Anno uirginei partus. M.D.XVI. pridie nonas septembris," etc. On the top of the next page (fol. 310a): "Impressum uero Orthonaë maris, summa cum diligentia per Hieronymum Suncinum: Anno christianae nativitatis. M.D.VIII. quinto decimo kalendas martias," etc. There follows a list of *correctiones* about three pages long; then, without pagination, the letter of Pope Leo X, "Dilecto filio Petro Galatino," dated, "Die IX Aprilis. M.D.XVIII.," signed "Ja. Sadoletus."⁶ It is plain that the words on fol. 309b refer, not to the printing or publication of the book, but to the author's completion of his work at Bari in September, 1516.⁷ The printer's colophon is on the following page, "Impressum uero Orthonaë . . . 1518." It is easy to see how in a hasty inspection of the book

⁴ The page reference proves that the edition Prat actually had before him was that of Basel, 1550, not the *editio princeps*.

⁵ The reference is to Panzer's own catalogue of the Public Library of Nürnberg. The edition of 1518 does not appear in Panzer either under "Ortona" or in the index.

⁶ This *privilegium* was not reprinted in the subsequent editions (Clément, X, 126).

⁷ Galatinus was Definitor of his order for the province of Bari.

the latter might be overlooked and the date on fol. 309 taken for the year of publication and as a matter of fact this happened more than once.

Panzer was not the first to make this mistake. In the catalogue of the Bodleian Library by Thomas Hyde, issued in 1674 (p. 273), three editions of Galatinus are entered, viz., Basel, 1550 (under the altered title of that edition), and, without indication of place, editions of 1516 and 1603. According to Clément the error was repeated in Robert Fysher's catalogue of the same library in 1738. Clément also notes that the catalogue of the Leyden Library (1716) ascribed the first edition to 1515 (which is the date affixed to the letter of the Emperor Maximilian to Galatinus urging him to publish a defense of Reuchlin, printed among the front matter of the *Arcana*), and supposes it to be a different work from that contained in the Basel edition of 1561. These errors and their origin were long ago exposed with gentle irony in David Clément's *Bibliothèque curieuse historique et critique*, IX (1769), 25 ff. Esser, in Wetzer und Welte, *Kirchenlexikon*, IX, 1914, cites Clément, but has evidently not profited by his learning, for he goes on to say that the *Arcana* "erschien zuerst zu Ortona 1518 (schon 1516 im Drucke fertiggestellt)," notwithstanding the fact that the title-page of the *Arcana* and the notes of the author and the printer on fol. 309 and 310 are reproduced in full by Clément.

The facts are accurately stated in Wadding, and in Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina*, IV (Hamburg, 1735), 11, who writes: "Prima editio operis jussu Leonis X suscepti et anno 1516 absoluti vidit lucem Orthonae maris Adriatici, 1518, fol."

VII. LUTHER AND PORCHETUS

In an article referred to above, I pointed out that Luther in a sermon delivered in November, 1526, and printed in 1527, employs the name *Jehovah* without comment or explanation, as if it were familiar to his hearers. It is not without interest in this connection to note that Luther was acquainted with the *Victoria* of Porchetus, and not only cited it by the author's name, but translated into German a considerable part of one chapter of the book in a polemic pamphlet, *Vom Schem Hamphoras und Geschlecht Christi*, Matt. 1,

published in 1543. My acquaintance with Luther's writings is not sufficient to permit me to say whether there is earlier evidence of Luther's acquaintance with Porchetus, and the indexes here give no light. It is at least an interesting coincidence that the passage in Jer. 23 which is the text of Luther's sermon is one on which Porchetus dwells at length.

In the pamphlet cited (Walch, XX, 2564), discussing the Tetragrammaton, Luther cites Jerome *Ad Marcellam* for the ten names of God, which he says Jerome enumerates as follows, "El, Elohim, Elohe, Zebaoth, Eljon, Ehje, Adonai, Ja, Jehova, Schadai," and in the sequel gives an etymological explanation of the name Jehovah. Whether Luther had an edition of Jerome's Epistles in which the name stood written *Jehova*, in place of the usual Jod, He, Vau, He, or whether he himself resolved the abbreviation, I am unable to judge.

VIII. JOHANN WESSEL: JOHAVAH

In his life of Johann Wessel, Ullmann writes (*Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, II, 442, n.): "Als lebendige Bezeichnungen der verschiedenen Seiten des göttlichen Wesens sind ihm daher auch die einzelnen Namen Gottes, vorzüglich im alten Testament, sehr wichtig und bedeutungsvoll, und er stellt häufige, wenngleich nicht immer ganz befriedigende, Betrachtungen darüber an, hauptsächlich über den Namen Jehovah." Similarly, p. 463: "Besonders hebt Wessel in platonischer Weise das in sich nothwendige, nach aussen vollkommen unbedingte, absolute und unveränderliche Seyn Gottes hervor, welches auch im alten Testament durch den Namen Jehovah bezeichnet werde"; referring in a note to "De Caus. Incarnat. Cap. 4. p. 419. De Orat. III, 11. p. 74. IV,⁸ 13. p. 78." The reader of these sentences could hardly fail to infer that Wessel (died 1489), one of the most noteworthy of the fifteenth century precursors of the Reformation, used the name Jehovah in his writings. In view of Luther's relation to Wessel, and especially of the fact that some of the writings of Wessel were published at Wittenberg in 1522,⁹ this would be interesting if true. Unfortunately it is not

⁸ Error for III, 13.

⁹ *Farrago rerum theologicarum uberrima*.—An edition of this work issued in the same year at Basel contains a letter of Luther (ed. Groningen, 1614, p. 854), in which he says that if he had read Wessel's writings earlier his enemies might have thought that he had got all his ideas from Wessel, so closely were they akin in spirit.

true. In *De causis incarnationis*, c. iv, Wessel discusses Exod. 3:14, criticizing Jerome's translation, "Ego sum qui sum," which he says the Jews ridicule. It should be rendered, "Ero qui ero," and in the sequel, "Ero misit me ad vos." But the name Jehovah does not occur, nor in this place even the words of the Hebrew text "*Ehejeh aser Ehejeh*" about which the author has a good deal to say in other writings. In *De oratione*, Bk. iii, cc. 11 and 13; Bk. iv, cc. 9 and 10, however, he frequently transliterates the Tetragrammaton, and uniformly writes *Iohavah*.



Wessel had acquired some acquaintance not only with Greek but with Hebrew, whether, as Hardenberg says, from monks who had lived "beyond the seas" or, as Ullmann thinks more likely, from Jews in Cologne (*op. cit.*, p. 314), is uncertain. From the specimens of his erudition scattered through his writings it is plain that his knowledge of Hebrew was not very profound, and in particular his notions of Hebrew pronunciation are decidedly at sea. Some of the errors are clearly to be attributed, not to the author, but to his editor or printers, as when on p. 72 the Hebrew equivalents of "our father, our brother, our lover," are said to be *Ahim*, *Ahinu*, *Abahim* (with a closer approximation to correctness, p. 98, *Abinu*, *Achinu*, *Achabinu*); but the author is doubtless responsible for the transliterations *Rucha*, *Eloha* (repeatedly), for *Ruah*, *Eloah*—a mistake a man would hardly make who had had even elementary instruction in pronunciation from a Jewish teacher. One more example must suffice:¹⁰ "Manifeste Salomon, Proverb. 8, quando dicit, *Iehaiel ohabe Ies* [יְהִי־אֱהִי אֹהֲבֵי יְיָ, Prov. 8:21], ponit *Ies* nomen Dei substantivum, sicut *Eloha*, *Iah*, & *Iohavah*. Sunt ergo praeter pluralia de *El* & *Eloha*, sex nomina substantiva apud Hebraeos; *El*, *Eloha*, *Elohim*, *Iah*, *Ies*, *Iohavah*, *Eheje*, *Aser*, *Ehejeh*."

If Wessel's Hebrew stood examination better, we might be tempted to conjecture that he wrote *Iohovah*, like Porchetus, and lay the consistent *Iohavah* at the door of the printers; as the facts are, it is more probable that the blunder is the author's own. However that may be, the name of Wessel is to be added to the list of Christian scholars who tried, with varying degrees of success, to pronounce the Tetragrammaton as it was written in their Bibles.

¹⁰ *De oratione*, Bk. v, c. 10.

THE EXPRESSION *sá-dúg* IN EARLY SUMERIAN TEXTS

BY GEORGE A. BARTON

This expression () occurs in the early texts from Telloh, and was apparently employed in different ways in different periods. Thus in the Cone inscriptions of Urkagina (*Découvertes*, LI, x, 21, 25, 29; LII, ix, 22, 26, 30), Thureau-Dangin regards it as a unit of liquid measure. He renders it in these passages (*Sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, 51 ff.), "Amphora." He tells us in a footnote (*ibid.*, p. 50, n. o) that an unpublished tablet clearly proves *sá-dúg* to have been in the pre-Sargonic time a designation of a denomination in liquid measure. A text (AO, 3308) published by the same scholar in the *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, V, 78, proves that in liquid measure the *qa* was the smallest unit and that thirty *qa* made a *dug* (). Thureau-Dangin accordingly infers that the *sá-dúg* was larger than the *dug*.

With reference to this interpretation in so far as it applies to the inscriptions of Urkagina, the writer feels considerable skepticism. As will be pointed out below *sá-dúg* was in the Sargonic period an adjective descriptive of a certain kind of *gur*, and in the period of Ur passed into a noun which apparently denoted "royal revenue." Paleographically, the passages in Urkagina lend themselves to an adjectival interpretation of *sá-dúg*. In *Découvertes* (LI, x, 25), the grouping of the numerals indicates that we should read 3 *kas* *hubur* *sá dúg*, i.e., "3 standard *hubur* of strong drink." In l. 21 this rendering is favored, while the positions of the numerals in the other passages are not opposed to such a rendering, since they conform to the method of extending other numerals as seen in col. x, 17. If *sá-dúg* is an adjective its use is similar to that in the Sargonic period. AO, 4156, published in Cros, *Nouvelles fouilles de Telloh*, 181, proves *hubur* to be a liquid measure larger than a *dug*.

Two reasons may be urged against regarding *sá-dúg* as an adjective in these passages. Urkagina twice uses *kas hubur* alone

(LI, x, 32, 35). While at first sight this would seem to justify Thureau-Dangin's rendering, it is equally open to the one suggested here. These jars may have been of the *gubur* form, but not of the proper size to be called *sá-dûg*. Another reason for accepting Thureau-Dangin's interpretation is the fact of the unpublished text which he quotes and the scholarly accuracy of Thureau-Dangin himself. These considerations lead us to do more than express skepticisms as to the correctness of his interpretation of *sá-dûg*, and to await with interest the publication of the text referred to.

Even if Thureau-Dangin is right, another use of *sá-dûg* is discernible at Telloh in the Sargonic period, when it appears as the name of a dry-measure. In Thureau-Dangin's *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*,¹ Nos. 120, 124 are receipts for grain measured in the terms of *gur sá-dûg*. As is well known all the tablets of the pre-Sargonic time give measurements of grain in terms of the *gur sag-gál* (𒍪𒌷 𒍪𒌷). Allotte de la Fuÿe has clearly shown in his article published in the *Rev. d'Assyriologie* (VII, 31 ff.) (cf. also the *Journal asiatique*, 10 série, Tom. XIII, 235 ff.), that the *gur sag-gál* consisted of 144 *qa*. He has also shown (and the texts enable one to test the correctness of the statement) that quarters of the *gur*, or 36 *qa*, were designated by the sign 𐎶, which was written 𐎶 for two quarters and 𐎶𐎶 for three quarters. It was, of course, never necessary to express more than three quarters for the addition of another quarter completed the *gur*.

It is probable that the *gur sá-dûg* introduced in the Sargonic period was identical with the *gur* of Agade (R.T.C., 118) and consisted of 300 *qa* as did the *gur* in use at Telloh in the time of the dynasty of Ur.² The reasons for this view are: (1) In designating subdivisions of the *gur* of 300 *qa* 𐎶 or 𐎶 stood for sixty *qa* and to indicate the multiples of sixty this symbol was written 𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, respectively indicating 120, 180, and 240 *qa*. As the addition of a fifth "sixty" completed the *gur*, the sign was never written in this notation more than four times, just as in the notation of the *gur sag-gál*, it was never written more than three times.

¹ Cf. Z.A. XVII, 94, 95.

² Indeed in one tablet of the Ur period (R.T.C., 249), this *gur* is still called the *gur* of Agade.

(2) In a fragmentary Sargonic tablet recently published (Thureau-Dangin, *Inventaire des tablettes de Telloh*, Paris 1910, Pl. 4, No. 1079) we have clearly a GUR of dry measure represented which contained 300 QA, for in l. 3 the QA are designated by the sign 𒊕. It is true that this GUR is not called in the extant portion of this tablet by the name SÁ-DÚG, but it is equally clear that it is not called by the name LUGAL. Since this GUR of 300 QA could not be the GUR SAG-GÁL it follows that it is the GUR SÁ-DÚG or GUR of Agade.³

The GUR SÁ-DÚG, or the GUR of 300 QA, did not, however, at once displace the GUR SAG-GÁL of 144 QA; for the GUR SAG-GÁL not only appears in tablets of the time of Sargon (cf. *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*, 115 and 124), but is found in a text dated in the time of GUDEA as well (cf. Pinches, *Amherst Tablets*, No. 13). It is probable that the larger GUR was the GUR of Agade, introduced at Telloh by the government of the time of Sargon as the standard of measurement for the collection of taxes, but that in other transactions the older measurement prevailed. By the Ur period the larger GUR had displaced the other and became the universal standard of measurement, though sometimes called by its old name.

In the Ur period, SÁ-DÚG had apparently become a term for the royal taxes or imposts. It is thus applied to quantities of reeds delivered to the king in Barton's *Haverford Library Collection* (I, pl. 16, iv, 1);⁴ also in another text published in Thureau-Dangin's *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*, No. 306, iv, 2.

This use of it to denote taxes in general apparently grew out of its earlier use as a designation of the GUR in which imposts to the government were paid. Probably SÁ-DÚG in such usage meant originally "that which is declared to be right" (cf. Br. 532 and 9526 or 9531, also M. 7247), i.e., "the standard."

³ That the GUR of Agade consisted of 300 QA Genouillac (*TSA*, p. lxxviii, n. 3) recognizes.

⁴ Cf. Vol. XXVII of this Journal, p. 325, n. 19.

Book Notices

SUMERIAN GRAMMAR AND CHRESTOMATHY¹

Dr. Langdon in the present work has collated and presented to the Sumeriological world a vast amount of philological material in an orderly and easily comprehensible form. Having long ago—in fact, almost at the beginning of his Sumeriological studies with me in the Columbia University Semitic Seminar—shaken off the chains of the “cryptogram” theory regarding Sumerian, he now makes the first attempt at a methodical exposition of the grammar of this ancient idiom, rightly emphasizing the absolute necessity of the signs (Preface, p. i), but, at the same time, not permitting himself to be bound by these signs, so as to allow them to obscure his excellent phonetic sense. Note his admirable treatise (§ 25, p. 26) on the proper phonetic use of the signs. In the inception of the science of Sumerian lexicography, nearly all scholars were too timid to depart from the sign proper and follow the lead of the syllable, so that the undoubted etymological connection between many kindred values, which are, however, represented by different signs, was overlooked. Thus, Langdon's exposition of the modal significance of the internal vowels (p. 90), such as the connection between *gir* ‘travel’; *gar* ‘wagon’; and *gur* ‘run’; or between *sig* ‘high’ and *sag* ‘top, head’ (see below, this review on chap. vi), shows his complete emancipation from the Sumerian ideograms as mere phonetic guides. These ideograms he rightly regards as necessary from an epigraphic, rather than from a phonetic, point of view. In his Preface, he abstains wisely from any attempt to advance theories regarding the linguistic affinities of Sumerian, although he does leave the door partly open (Preface, p. ii) for the possible future acceptance of a theory that Sumerian may be connected with some known family of agglutinative languages. He states: “. . . as a negative result of my studies, I am convinced that it (Sumerian) has no affinity with either (?) the Caucasian, Aryan, or Semitic groups.” He advances no opinion as to Turko-Ugric or any other agglutinative group of tongues, recognizing at present “the futility of such efforts.”

The extent of Langdon's work will prevent my taking up every point of importance to which he alludes, but I shall endeavor in the following criti-

¹A SUMERIAN GRAMMAR AND CHRESTOMATHY WITH A VOCABULARY OF THE PRINCIPAL ROOTS IN SUMERIAN AND A LIST OF THE MOST IMPORTANT SYLLABIC AND VOWEL TRANSCRIPTIONS BY STEPHEN HENRY LANGDON, M.A., PH.D., SHILLITO READER OF ASSYRIOLOGY AND COMPARATIVE SEMITIC PHILOLOGY, OXFORD. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1911; pp. i-vii: Title-Page and Abbreviations; i-ii: Preface; 1-177: Grammar; 179-200: Texts; 201-259: Vocabulary; 261-303: Sign-List; 305-308: Index; 309-310: Addenda; 311: Errata.

cism to dwell upon some of the most significant data presented in his grammatical chapters.

In chap. i: "Historical Outline," I cannot agree with him as to his derivation of the word Šu mer, written in Sumerian KI-*IN*-GIN (rather KI-*EN*-GIN), which he renders 'place of the faithful lord.' What deity is meant by this 'faithful lord'? In *MSL*, 206, I translated this name 'land of the reed'; viz., ki 'land' + gi(n) 'reed,' which may, indeed, have been a secondary paronomastic signification of the term, but I now believe that ki-en-gin is simply a phonetic reduplication of ki(n)-ki(n) = 'the lands *par excellence*.' The second ki(n) was probably changed to gi(n), owing to the preceding nasal n. Note that ki-en-gin alone = mât u 'land,' Sa. i., 733 and ercitu 'earth,' IV. R., 1, 22a. It is usual to find in primitive idioms the word for 'people' or 'men,' used as a generic term for the race of speakers. Thus, the Delaware Indians called themselves Le n â p e 'men,' and the San Blas Indians of the Isthmus of Panama call themselves t u l e 'people,' and, still more striking, the Passamaquoddies of Maine term their country simply 'our land.' What more natural, then, than to find the expression 'lands' in use by the primitive inhabitants of the Euphrates valley to denote their own territory?

As to the phonetic connection between Sem. Šu mer = Heb. שׁוּמֵר and and Sum. Ke n gi n, I believe Langdon is right; i.e., that there is here a genuine phonetic equivalent; viz., the palatal k = š, perhaps ś (=palatal s h); the nasal n ġ = the medial nasal m; and the final n = r. I am still doubtful as to the possibility of any connection between the expression e me - k u, the term for the harsher (Langdon: "the classical") Sumerian dialect and ki-en-gi(n); i.e., that e me - k u could be a reversal for ki (KU) - en - gi = KU - e me with nasalized m. I still see no reason for departing from my interpretation of e me - k u = 'language of the lords' or 'noble tongue' and e me - sal 'women's speech' or 'softer idiom' (*MSL*, xiv), regarding these expressions as merely metaphorical descriptions of the phonetics of the respective dialects. As to Langdon's assertion (p. 4, note 2), that if k u meant 'prince, lord,' we should then have to read e me - d u r, it is not certain that the value k u was not also used in the sense 'lord,' although d u r is the more common vocable. Note that, on p. 48, note 7, Langdon gives the following list of Sumerian dialects from Berlin Vocab., V.A.Th. 244 (*ZA*. IX, pp. 159-64): e me - sal, e me - g u d d a, e me - m u š (also e me - m u š a), e me - Te-NAD, e me - si - di and e me - gal. Of these, I suggest that e me - g u d = li š â n u e l ū 'lofty speech' may well correspond with e m u - k u phonetically. Even the phonetic suggestion is here: k u = g u (d). Also e me - m u š = li š â n z i m i 'speech of adornment' may have been an equivalent for e me - sal 'the softer tongue,' while e me - si - di = li š â n m ê š a r i 'correct speech' and e me - gal = li š â n u r a b ū 'great speech' suggest the same idea as that conveyed by e me - k u. As to e me - TE-NAD, I recognize

the doubtful character of the interpretation, but am inclined to derive it from *te* 'foundation, building'+NAD=*na*=*i ř š u* 'couch, bed'; viz., *te-na* might mean 'harem, women's apartments,' and hence *eme-te-na* could=*eme-sal*. These interpretations, if correct, still further strengthen the theory that *eme-ku* and *eme-sal* denoted idioms of the noble, and feminine, or softer, class respectively, which ideas were connected with the phonetic characteristics of the dialects in question.

Langdon is right in stating that *Šumer* and *Akkadû* respectively indicated the non-Semitic and Semitic languages of Babylonia (p. 2). He demonstrates this point satisfactorily in §§ 2 and 3.

Langdon's exposition of the Sumerian literary remains (pp. 5-18) is concise and full. He prudently makes no mention of the Nippur Library controversy. He sets the end of the vitality of Sumerian as a living literary vehicle at about 2000 B.C. (p. 18); but there can be little doubt that this idiom survived as a "church language" until a much later period.

In chap. ii, pp. 19-32, on the origin and principal characteristics of Sumerian writing, he describes the pictorial development of several signs of this graphic system (pp. 19-20). On p. 20, Langdon gives *balag* = *balaggu* "evidently a harp or lyre," and the archaic sign seems to agree with this rendering. Note, however that this sign with value *ba-lag* (ŠIT) has the two principal meanings *nabâcu* 'strike, smite' (*MSL*, 87 on Br. 7029, with value *dub*), and Meissner *Selt. Ideogr.*, 5042 = *cirxu* 'cry of woe,' probably with value *balag*. As Langdon states (p. 20, note 2), Jensen identifies this *balag* with Syr. *palgâ* 'drum.' It is significant to find in Meissner, *op. cit.*, 3112, the combination *bil* (NE)-*gi*=*carâxu* 'utter a woe-cry' and also, *op. cit.*, 3215, the fire-sign with value *bil-gi*=*carâxu*. Is this *bil-gi* the Sumerian word for 'fire,' or is it a paronomastic play on *balag*, whose primary meaning seems to be connected with lamentation? I am inclined to the latter view. It is possible that *balag* originally denoted any instrument which was struck, and then came to mean 'harp' specifically because lamentations were generally sung to this instrument: hence the equation *carâxu* 'utter a woe-cry.'

On p. 21, § 20, Langdon describes "gunification" (the better word in English would perhaps be "gunation"), the significance of which was brought to general attention by Fried. Delitzsch in his *Entstehung des ältesten Keilschriftsystems*, but Langdon does not mention Delitzsch at all in this connection. Under *TU*=*tun* 'band, shekel,' Langdon might have called attention to the etymological connection between *gin*=*TU* 'shekel' and *gun*=*biltu* 'weight.' His paragraph 2, § 21, on "signs within signs" deserves special commendation. Note, however (§ 24), that in describing the sign for 'beget,' he alludes to the double *mu š en*-ideogram, stating that *mu š en*= 'fish.' *Mu š en* means 'bird' and has no connection with 'beget,' which is represented by the *xa*=fish-sign owing to the fancied resemblance of the fish to the *pudendum feminae*. This point is not brought out by Langdon.

In connection with *r a r* (p. 27), whose sign-name is *r a r û*, it is doubtful whether this final *-r* is not merely a conventional connecting consonant, inserted in order to enable the sign-name-ending *-û* to be appended. In other words, *r a r û* is probably only a name, and does not necessarily indicate that the *ra*-syllable had an original *r*-ending.

In § 27, pp. 28-29, Langdon says: "it is natural to assume that a distinction existed in Sumerian" (i.e., between *s*-syllables and *š*-syllables). He then mentions, very properly the evident confusion between syllables of this character in early Semitic. The fact is that we know very little about the early pronunciation of these sibilant signs; thus, it is quite possible that *s a - t u* = *š a d û* 'mountain' may have been pronounced *š a t u* with *š*, although written with *s*. The confusion was, I think, twofold, and existed both in the pronounced and in the written word. In this connection should be noted the very apparent similar confusion, mentioned conscientiously by Langdon, between the simple and emphatic consonants; as between *k* and *q*. In his next chapter, § 27, Langdon is forced to admit that syllables with *z* may contain a possible *ž*. If this is so, why not a similar probable confusion between *s* and *š*; viz., that *s*-syllables may contain a possible *š*, and *š*-syllables a possible *s*? He does not, however, admit this.

In § 28, p. 30, he gives the value *u r* = *UR*, *LIK*, *TAŠ* 'dog,' but 'dog' is *lik*, and not *u r* = primarily 'male'; *a m ê l u* 'man,' Br. 11256, through a confusion with *u r u* = *z i k a r u* 'male,' *MSL*, 353.

Very oddly, in his "practical hints," Langdon, alluding to the great number of roots of the same value, but with diversified meanings (§ 30), never once thinks of the apparently necessary theory of tonal differentiation, which I hold must have existed in Sumerian (*MSL*, xix and xxi). This seems to be the only method of accounting for this phenomenon.

Chap. iii (pp. 33-49) gives the discussion of "the phonetic elements of Sumerian and sound-changes." Here we find the interesting question as to the existence of *ü* (§§ 33 ff.), which was probably present in Sumerian, owing to the occurrence of *i*- and *e*- complements, and also owing to such variants as *di* and *du* for *DU*, which seem to presuppose an *ü*-pronunciation for *u*. I believe there may even have been a long *ü ü* = *Magyar ü*; note Langdon, p. 62, note 4, where he states that *ü* is sometimes written *u-e*. This probably indicated not *ü*, but *ü*.

It is not necessary to suppose that *ng* in *ingar* 'peasant' was palatalized *iñar*, as, if this were the case, how can the form *egar*, and particularly the Semitic derivative *ikk ar u*, be explained? Furthermore, there is no evidence of a nasalized *k* in Semitic. We should rather expect *ik-ja-ru*, had there been an original palatalization. In *dingir*, *Eme-sal dimer*, with the Semitized *digir û*, we have, no doubt, a real nasalization, because the medial *g* might represent the *ng*-nasal.

In § 40, pp. 40-41, he gives some excellent examples of palatalization. Many of these are mere *B'gadh K'phath*, as *dim-zem*; *dug-zib*;

muten-mušen; nidaba-nisaba, etc. On the mutation nir-šer=etillu, cf. my remarks, *MSL*, xii, with the exposition of the precisely parallel change in the dialects of modern Chinese. This n=š change was one of the chief objects of ridicule on the part of the "cryptogram" school, who declared such a mutation to be phonetically impossible. Langdon seems to regard mm as equivalent both to ww and ñ, but these are not identical sounds. If m=w, which must have been the case, this w must have been pronounced somewhat like the modern Gaelic nasal mh=ñw, in such a word as Gaelic lamh, pronounced ũllá'ñw. The probability is that m, mm and often ng, represented an indeterminate medial nasal sound of this character.

In Langdon's paragraph on vowel harmony, § 57, p. 46, he cites edu for udu 'sheep'; elal for alal 'water-bucket' (Prince), but these, especially the latter example, are rather vocalic dissimilations (*MSL*, xv); the same phenomenon seen in Finno-Ugric, wherever there occurs too long a series of monotonous vowel-harmonic combinations. Note also Sumerian du-suxur and da-suxur. In Sumerian, such dissimilation must have originated from some other cause than mere monotony, as the combinations seem too short to justify this hypothesis.

In chap. iv, on Determinatives (pp. 50-61), Langdon rightly believes that these prefixes are sometimes pronounced (p. 52), especially in such combinations as giš-kan and duk-kan=respectively 'bolt' and 'jar,' where it became necessary to make a distinction, in order to avoid confusion. His list of the most usual determinatives, § 67, pp. 52-61, is a useful one for the student of Sumerian. On p. 55, he cites a possible Semitic derivation of šam=Assyr. šammu 'drug, poison'=Ar. سم, but I am inclined to believe that šam is a real Sumerian word, to be connected etymologically with še 'grain'; cf. še-ám=the compound sign, Br. 4678, containing the combination še-am; lit., 'it is grain, plant.'

In chap. v, on inflections and postfixes (pp. 62-90), why does Langdon regard ma-e, za-e 'I, thou,' respectively, as writings for the values mō, zō? He must mean here mō, zō. If u-e may=ü (thus Langdon; in my opinion rather ũ), why may not a-e=ä or even ā=the prolonged ā?

According to Langdon, the *status rectus* has many endings which practically makes it only possible to recognize it by context. In contradistinction to this multiplicity of endings, he finds only one; viz., -a, to indicate the *status obliquus*=locative, instrumental, dative and temporal. Even this apparently oblique -a, however, he admits is used in the *status rectus* occasionally. While there can be little doubt that this -a is a true oblique case (cf. §§ 73-79), the occasional deviation from such a use would seem to indicate a loss of case-feeling, and that too at a not late period of the language (cf. *Gudea* Cyl., A, 13, 3). Such irregularities as manā, kalāma, d. ningišzida, ama, ama-a, may perhaps be accounted for by supposing that vowel harmony exerted its influence in such cases (Langdon).

On the other hand, he admits that there may be other "unknown reasons." It is apparent that the last word has not yet been said on this difficult point.

It is curious to note that the instrumental is regularly formed by the postfix $\check{s}u=KU$ which reminds us of the instrumental ina in Assyrian. Note that $\check{s}u=KU=ina$, Br. 10563, an undoubted proof of the instrumental use of $\check{s}u=KU$. Note Langdon's §§ 83-93, all on $\check{s}u=KU$ and sometimes= $\check{S}U$, a very good exposition, in which he states that $\check{s}u$ has a preference for inanimates, while $-ra$ is used rather for animates and persons. This may be true, as there was an undoubted tendency in Sumerian to distinguish between animates and inanimates, as is the case in a number of modern primitive idioms such as the Algonquin, but I should like to see this distinction in Sumerian demonstrated at greater length than the compass of Langdon's work would permit.

Note in § 125 this interesting statement: "When the genitive has the force of describing the construct and is thus more logically connected with it, the construct ending ($-ge$) precedes the plural." The possibility of a postpositional insert before another termination was long ago brought forward by me in *Le Bouc Émissaire*, *JA*, 1903, p. 146, and contradicted by M. Chas. Fossey, *op. cit.*, note 1, in the running commentary on my article which he caused to be there inserted. I am glad to see that Dr. Langdon admits the possibility of a postposition preceding a final (cf. also my reply to Fossey, *AJSL*, XX, pp. 178-79).

On p. 83, note 1, Langdon rejects the connection of the plural $-me$ (discussed § 126) with $me=b a \check{s} \check{u}$ 'to be.' Why? It is quite conceivable that $-me$, which could mean 'are' might have passed over into a plural ending. In several primitive idioms, we find the same plural finals used for both nouns and verbs. Thus, in Passamaquoddy (Algonquin), the $-ul$ (inanimate pl.) and $-uk$ (animate pl.) endings appear with both nouns and verbs. The fact is that the distinctions between the parts of speech are purely modern ones and are but little felt in any primitive tongue, particularly not in languages of the agglutinative type.

I note the pronunciation $xa-a$ for XI-A, the plural combination taken from Thompson, *Reports*, No. 103 obv. 11 (§ 128). This is, probably, correct (cf. $xa-a=XI$, Br. 8206).

Fossey, in *JA*, 1903, p. 144, note 2, in his commentary on my *Bouc Émissaire* says, contrary to my statement: "*On ne trouve pas d'harmonie vocalique dans les pluriels.*" But Langdon, § 129, gives three undoubted harmonic endings $e\check{s}$, $a\check{s}$, $u\check{s}$ as verb-plurals. This $-s$ -element, he adds, was attached to the def. pl. $-me$, giving rise to the new inflection $me\check{s}$. This plural, I believe, though usually written $ME\check{S}$, was probably pronounced harmonically $ma\check{s}$, $me\check{s}$, $mu\check{s}$. Indeed, in one passage, *JA*, 1903, p. 144, in the combination $a(ID)-d a r a -ma\check{s}$, I thought I had found a genuine harmonic writing $ma\check{s}$ for plural $me\check{s}$, to which, however, M. Fossey objected, perhaps justly, owing to paucity of examples. Langdon

does not believe in the etymological connection between the plural *meš* and the verbal *meš = šunu*. My remarks (just above on pl. -*me*) apply here with equal force.

As to the dual *áš-áš*, § 130, this *áš* must have been pronounced with a variant tone from the plural *aš*; a theory not followed by Langdon.

In § 131, the rule is laid down that, if the construct is *rectus*, the following genitive must be with -*ge*, while, if the construct is oblique, the genitive must be with -*ka*. Amiaud, *ZK*, I, p. 237, was the first to note this distinction between -*ge* and -*ka*. I believe that -*ge* and -*ka* are derivatives from a common original *g/k*-element connected with *gid* = *KID* = Sem. *kitû* 'woven cane mat'; i.e., = 'connected compactness,' an idea which would readily account for the use of this particle as a *nota genitivi* (cf. *MSL*, 131).

The curious use of the apparently genitive -*ge* to denote the subject of a sentence is commented on by Langdon (§ 140). This further confirms the view that -*ge* = *KIT* meant 'connection,' because a subject followed by -*ge* could only be construed to mean 'with respect to, in connection with such an one.' Note: *d.en-lil-lu-šag nu-eš-ge ilišubani-ra in-na-an-sig* 'with respect to *Enlillušag*, the *major-domo*, he (*Enlillušag*) gave it to *Ilubani*.' Note that *nu-eš* is composed of *nu*, the same element as in *nu-banda*; *nu-gi-šar* = the *nomen opifex* + *eš* = *AB* 'house.'

In chap. vi, on nouns and adjectives (pp. 91-100), Langdon believes that the internal vowel gives a modal signification to the roots, citing a number of interesting examples; thus, (p. 92) *sig* 'be high' and *sag* 'top, head'; *sig* 'give' and *sag* 'gift.' Here he should have called attention to the probability of a tonal difference between these *sig*-roots. He cites also *gir* 'travel'; *gir* 'foot'; *gar* 'wagon' and *gur* 'run.' There is probably no connection other than a paronomastic one between Sum. *gur* and Sem. *garâru* (Heb. גָּרַר; Arab. جَرَّ).

The connection between Sum. *a-du = tēmu*, *milku* 'counsel' and *ad* = 'father' (thus, Langdon) is doubtful. I regard *a-du* as the abstract prefix *a + du = di = milku*. Note that *di-di = iqabbi* 'he speaks,' *MSL*, 75. Whether this *d(i,u)* was connected with *ad* 'father' is not certain. Observe that *ad* also = *ummu* 'mother,' on which cf. *MSL*, 17.

Langdon should have mentioned, in § 148, that noun-formation by vowel prefixes was first pointed out by Haupt (see *MSL*, xvii). The formative *ki-* prefix was explained in *MSL*, xvii.

Langdon's discussion of the *du-g-KA* suffix, § 153, is interesting. In such compounds as *du mu-du g(KA)* 'offspring,' how does one know that this is not the genitive -*ka* = 'of or belonging to a child' = *du mu*; hence offspring? The element -*du* (p. 99) in compounds like *sim-du*

does not necessarily prove the *d u g*-pronunciation of KA, because this *d u* might be read *g i (n)* and represent the genitive *-g e*.

In chap. vii, on pronouns (pp. 101-14), Langdon is correct in stating that *m ê n* means merely 'to be' and has no personal force in itself. This fact was shown in *MSL*, xxxiv, § 70, and it was also demonstrated there that *m ê n* cannot specifically indicate 'I' or 'thou,' a point which was first brought forward by Haupt, *Sfg.* 30, nr. 2, 31. I cannot, however, agree with Langdon that the primary form of the first person is *m e*, and that *m a - e* is a representation of *m ô* (see above, this review on chap. v), because, if this were the case, we should expect to find *z e* or *z i - i* for the second person, whereas the sole second personal form is *z a - e*, except one sporadic *z i, s i* (cf. § 157 and the single reference there cited).

In his treatise on the poss. *-m u*; oblique *-m a*, § 156, Langdon makes no allusion to the relative *-m u*, which may be used to denote any one of the three persons and which must have differed tonally from the *-m u* of the first person (*MSL*, xxi, § 3, and xxix). He states that *-m u - i n k i - m u - t a = i t t i i a* (AL.³ 91, 27a) is incorrect. I cannot agree with him here, and it should be noted that so excellent an authority as Thureau-Dangin says that the oblique distinction for pronominal suffixes is often broken through (cf. Prince, *AJSL*, XXVII, pp. 328-30, note 4, on this entire discussion). Note also such forms as *z u - r a* (Langdon, p. 104, note 2) and *m u x - z u - š u* (KU), where we should expect Langdon's oblique *-z a*. He himself cites the theoretically oblique *-z a* in *status rectus*.

I am inclined to regard such forms as *en - ci - en*, § 158, and also *ab - ci - en*, *an - ci - en*, *ib - ci - en*, *in - ci - en = en - ci - en*, *me - ci - en* as not yet clearly defined honorifics.

It is difficult to believe that the endings *ni - n a* and *bi - b a* are always used for animates and inanimates respectively (thus Langdon following Amiaud; see *MSL*, XII, and observe that Langdon himself gives as the animate *bi - e - n a d - di - en* 'he slumbers', but *bi* is inanimate according to him). If these are genuine animate and inanimate elements how do we account for the apparent reversal of the *n -* and *b -* elements in *a b â* 'who' (animate) and *a n â* 'what' (inanimate)? Cf. Prince, *AJSL*, XXIV, p. 355, where the theory is advanced that these suffixes represent the remote and near ideas respectively.

As to the emphatic *-r* in such phrases as *(d u r) g i r - d u g - g a - r a = (a g a l u) l a s m u* 'a swift calf is he,' § 163, this is nothing but the dative *-r* used to round out the predicate in the same manner as we find the instrumental used in Slavic: *on je slovákem* 'he is a Slovák.'

In his chap. viii, on numerals, pp. 115-23, I note that *a š* is given for 'one' and *a š š a* for 'six.' If this is correct, we must suppose again a tonal differentiation between these *a š*-values. Note that the horizontal wedge used for 'one' has both values *a š* and *d i l*, and that the perpendicular wedge used for 'one' and 'sixty' has as its usual value *d i š - d i l*.

In *MSL*, I give *di š* as the word for 'one.' Langdon states that *gi š*, a value which may be assumed for the perpendicular, means 'sixty' and that *gi š* was changed to *mu š* and *u š*. He also gives *e š* (p. 119), but *e š* means 'three.' There is an undoubted confusion here which may perhaps be eliminated by again supposing tones. Langdon confirms me in the statement that the primitive Sumerians could not count beyond five (*MSL*, xxviii), as he correctly builds up their numerals for six, seven, eight, etc., by additions to *ja* 'five.'

Chap. ix (pp. 124-70) is his treatise on the verb. Beginning with the use of the simple verbal stem as both the infinitive and participle (§§ 180-81)—a usage which in some degree resembles the Arabic *ḥāl*-clause—Langdon proceeds, § 182, to the description of the relation of the subject to the verbal notion. In his allusion to the suffixed conjugation, he states that it must have coexisted with the prefixed conjugation from the beginning, adding that the suffixed conjugation appears almost exclusively in dependent clauses in the evolution of the language. This suffixed conjugation was first discovered by Haupt, whom Langdon does not mention at all here. There can be no doubt of its dependent character in all the phases of the language as yet known to us, although there are occasional traces of it in independent sentences (§ 183).

On p. 132, § 186, Langdon correctly states that the prefixes are in no sense indicative of person or number, a fact which I believe was first pointed out in *MSL*, xxiv, § 13. It is equally true that these prefixes were not used at random, but possessed inflectional force (see Prince, *AJSL*, XXIV, pp. 354-65). I cannot agree with him entirely in his treatment of the force of the verbal prefixes, which must have been local in signification as well as subjective or objective. Langdon admits the local distinction (§ 163). Thus, he gives *e-* as indicating a subject near by; *mu-* = a subject near the center of action; *bi-* and *ni-* = a subject at a distance. I have given the meaning of these same prefixes as follows: *e* denotes final past action; *mu* = the relating past; *bi* refers to the nearer subject or object, and *ni* to the remoter subject or object (*AJSL*, XXIV, pp. 354-65). Langdon agrees with Thureau-Dangin only in part (p. 138). Langdon says: "the theory that a particle has in itself the power of denoting the direction of an action and the beautiful hypothesis of action from the center (*e*), and towards the center (*ba*), and from the center back to the interior (*ni*) is linguistically too mechanical." Yet he himself refers *mu* to the center of action and speaks of nearer and distant objects! As to the mechanical character of such distinctions, how about the common demonstratives in German, *dieser* and *jener*, or, to take a widely differing idiom, the difference in Turkish between the demonstratives *ol* and *bu*? The fact seems to be that the many prefixes and infixes in Sumerian have meanings indicating direction, purpose, means, and finality of action (Prince, *AJSL*, p. 355). An important future task of Sumeriologists must be to tabulate every verb-form in the inscrip-

tions with sufficient context, in order to correct or verify the results set forth by Thureau-Dangin and Langdon, both of whom have undoubtedly paved the way to a proper understanding of the Sumerian verb in all its varied and difficult ramifications.

Langdon treats compound verbs separately in §§ 203 ff. The Sumerians, like the modern Turks, were in the habit of combining with a verbal root some noun as a sort of cognate accusative, as *igi-gar* 'see'; lit., 'make eye'; *sag-ila* 'elevate'; lit., 'lift head,' etc. The use of Sum. *gar* 'make' in such compounds reminds us of the Turkish use of *etmek* 'make' in phrases like *imtihân etmek* 'examine'; *du'a etmek* 'pray,' etc. The difference between Turkish and Sumerian is that the former almost always uses a loan-word in connection with the native *etmek*. Such compounding is not so common in Finno-Ugric, as the Magyar prefers to make new verbs, following the German system, as *kiismerni* 'find out,' from *ki* 'out'+*ismer* 'know, perceive.' Finnish does much the same, as in *nimitää* 'name, call' (*nimi*='name,' probably from Swedish *namn*). In its compounds, Sumerian is much richer in the choice of the indicating verb, as we find not merely *gar* 'make,' but *gi* 'turn,' as *ka-gi* 'revoke'='turn mouth'; *dur* 'dwell,' as *ki-dur* 'cause to dwell in a place,' etc. Langdon makes no linguistic comparisons.

I believe that *me* is always a real verb='to be.' Langdon states, § 207, that forms like *zi-me* 'thou art,' *mu-me* 'I am' militate against this, as we should rather expect the reverse *me-zu*, *me-mu* with the postpositive conjugation, if *me* were a genuine verb-root. He admits, however, that other verb-stems have the prefixed conjugation, so why not *me*?

"The suffix *ám* may be attached directly to a noun which forms its complement" (§ 208). This simply means that *ám*, an element of the verb *me* 'to be,' is a common predicate enclitic like Turkish *dır, dir* 'is.'

His treatment, § 221, of the subjunctive *-a* is good. It has long been clear that this *-a* may indicate dependent clauses of any sort and Langdon admits this, § 223.

He is not too clear when he states: "the regular conjugations remained absolutely destitute of indication of person" (§ 225); meaning, of course, "personal differentiation." The fact is that where the personal pronoun is not indicated, the context is always so arranged as to avoid any misunderstanding. Whenever there is a possibility of doubt, the personal pronoun, or a subject, is expressed. There are many primitive languages which do not indicate personal differentiation by verbal conjugation and which follow precisely the same system.

In § 228, Langdon calls attention to the negative *bara-* (often *bar-an*). It is possible that this *bara* is nothing more than an abbreviated or defective writing for *bar-an* with *n*, which *n* indicates the real negative. If, however, *bara* without *n* is a genuine negation, which may be

the case, how does he think the Sumerian speakers distinguished between this negative *b a r a* and the ordinary *b a - r a* 'he to him,' except by tones?

In chap. x, on conjunctions (pp. 171-75), he alludes to the suffix *- d a* of association; § 232. Attention was called to this in *MSL*, p. 68.

Again the tone-theory for Sumerian which he ignores is forced upon us in his chap. xi, on adverbs (pp. 176-77), where he mentions *m e* 'where, when.' How can he distinguish this from *m e* 'to be,' unless he admits the theory of tonal differentiation?

Three text selections are given (pp. 179-200) with very much too free translations for the ordinary student; viz., I. Cyl. A, i-vii (pp. 179-86); II. V. Rawl. 50-51 (pp. 187-96); III. from Radau, *Miscel.*, No. 2; C.B.M., 2193-11,403 (pp. 196-200).

Lack of space forbids more than a few comments on this interesting section. The author makes no explanation of *š a g* = 'meaning,' p. 180, l. 28. It may be assumed that this is *š a g* = *lib bu* 'heart, mind,' but a beginner in Sumerian would be puzzled to arrive at this conclusion and it must be remembered that these texts are presumably intended for beginners. All through them we find excellent translations, but with few guiding comments. A student can hardly be expected to commit to memory even the chief peculiarities of so difficult a language as Sumerian, no matter how excellently they may be set forth in the grammatical section. It would have been better, if in this part at least, one comparatively easy text had been expounded, phrase by phrase, with careful references to the grammatical treatise.

Again on p. 180, l. 29: *d a g a l - m u m a - m u - m u g a - n a - t ú m*, he renders 'unto my mother my dream, verily I will report.' I find on explanation anywhere of *m a - m u* 'dream.' He adds, note 10: "*sic!* where we expect *d a g a l - m u - r a*"; but, *- r a* would be redundant here, as the dative force is sufficiently expressed by *- n a -* (Prince, *AJSL*, XXIV, p. 360 B).

His selected vocabulary (pp. 201-259) and sign-list (pp. 261-303), excellent as they are for the advanced student, have the same fault. Thus the verb-form *í n - í l - í l*, p. 179, l. 8, for which the student would naturally look in the vocabulary under *il*, is not noted at all. Under *ili* 'be high' (p. 221), he does not mention the shorter form *il*. On p. 181, l. 1, *e n s i* is not given at all. Similarly p. 181, l. 4, the expression *g i r n a m - m i g u b* is rendered 'she embarked not.' It would be hard for a beginner to delve out that this literally means 'foot she set not' (in her boat). On p. 193, l. 14, *i a*, which he renders 'ointment' is not explained. He does give the value *i a* = NI in his sign-list, but does not state that NI means 'ointment,' nor does he indicate, on p. 193, which of the three possible *i a*-values occurs in l. 14 just cited. He omits also *š a g* = *m ê l ú* 'flood,' pp. 293-94 of the sign-list. Instances of this sort, which detract from the educational value of his work, might be multiplied.

It must not be thought from any of the above criticisms on a really monumental work, that I do not appreciate the great value to Sumeriological science of this talented author's effort to reduce a puzzling grammatical tangle to something like order. The difficulties with which the grammarian of Sumerian has to contend are very great, chiefly owing to the multiplex system of signs and values presented by the material at hand. Indeed, were there not such a wealth of signs, the task would be much easier. I have merely touched the surface of Dr. Langdon's work, picking out data here and there which impressed me, as I have studied it. To write a complete treatise on his results would be to indict a supplementary grammar almost as extensive as his own. I am in accord with him in all fundamental matters. He has demonstrated most ably the undoubted linguistic character of Sumerian and has completely banished the "cryptogram" theory from possible acceptance by all competent students of agglutinative phenomena. His admirable knowledge of agglutination—not always to be acquired by scholars whose mother-tongue is an inflectional language—is very impressing. He enters into the spirit of the phenomena like one to the manner born, and he has succeeded in presenting to the scientific world a pioneer work on this subject, which will undoubtedly be followed by others of a similar character, as our Sumerian material and acquaintance with the language increase.

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ARABIC EPIGRAPHY

During the last few years the study of Arabic epigraphy has made notable strides. The merit for this lies almost exclusively at the door of Max Van Berchem. If not the first to declare its value for the history of Mohammedan civilization, he has certainly been foremost in the exact study of the documents and in working out a comprehensive plan for their collection.¹ Since the year 1891 when he, for the first time, prepared such a plan, he has been indefatigable—not only in publishing the inscriptions himself, but also in securing the collaboration of other scholars and in inducing travelers to give these inscriptions their attention. The prosecution of this work in Mohammedan countries is the more necessary, in view of the frequent misuse of the materials of one building in the construction of others.

The present volume of the *Corpus*,² as projected by Van Berchem, the first part of which is the subject of this notice, deals with northern Syria.

¹ See *Journal Asiatique*, 1891, Tome XVII, p. 411; *ibid.*, "Lettre à M. Barbier de Meynard sur le projet d'un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum;" *Paris*, 1893, and the introduction to his edition of the inscriptions of Cairo.

² MÉMOIRES PUBLIÉS PAR LES MEMBRES DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE DU CAIRE. Tome Vingt-cinquième: Max Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. Deuxième partie. SYRIE DU NORD*, par Moritz Sobernheim. Premier fascicule, Le Caire, 1909. 4to, vii + 139 pp.; 15 plates.

more particularly, the region between Tripoli and Ḥamā. The author, Moritz Sobernheim, is one of the younger German Arabists of distinction. An excellent Arabic scholar, he has visited the East several times and for lengthy periods, and has had much experience in copying, photographing, and deciphering Arabic inscriptions. We expect from him a complete edition of the Arabic texts found on the walls of Baalbec by the German archaeological expedition of 1900-1904.

The part now published deals with 'Akkar, Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, and Tripoli.³ All three places have played a prominent part in the history of the Crusades—especially the second, known in the Middle Ages as *Krak*, and said to be the "most imposing and best preserved of the crusading fortresses in Syria."⁴ In his introductions, Sobernheim gives us a very useful historical résumé of the history of these places, based largely upon the material collected in the *Recueil des historiens orientaux des Croisades*,⁵ in the *Barq al-Sha'm* of Muḥammad ibn Shaddād (died 684 A.H.), and in the encyclopedic work of Aḥmad al-Nuwairi (died 732 A.H.), entitled *Nihāyat al-'arab*.⁶ For the biographies of the persons mentioned in the inscriptions, he has drawn on Abu Bakr Ḳāḍi Shuhbah's (died 851 A.H.) *al-i'lām bita'rīkh al-islām* and Abu-l-Maḥāsin ibn Taghribardī's (died 874 A.H.) *Manḥal al-Ṣāfi*; the passages from the manuscripts being cited in full.

The value of these inscriptions is manifold; not so much for their paleographic worth—the style throughout being that which is now called "naskhi mamluke"—but because of the historical and other data that they contain. We get a little further insight into the internal history of these Mohammedan communities of the Middle Ages, which does not always come to light in the literary works of historians and chronologists. Much can be learned for instance about the pious foundations in which the humanity of Mohammedans found expression. For, very often, extracts from the last will and testament of the founder of a Madrasah or Mosque or from the *Wakf*-act were engraven upon the walls of the building. An excellent example of this is the long inscription (No. 51) on the wall of the Madrasah al-Khātūniyyah in Tripoli, built by 'Iz-zal-dīn Aidamīr al-Ashrafi, a Mamluke governor of the city in the eighth century. The foundation is, in reality, that of his wife Arghūn, also an enfranchized slave. The rents accruing from a number of shops and stalls are set aside for its upkeep. Not only are prayers to be said for the defunct; but a certain amount of food is to be distributed

³ The region may be studied on Map 1, attached to Max von Oppenheim, *Von Mittelmeere zum Persischen Golf*, 1893.

⁴ Van Berchem, "Les châteaux des croisés en Syrie," in *Bulletin l'Union syndicale architectes français*, 1897, p. 271.

⁵ On this work, see Sobernheim's article "Ibn Shaddāds Darstellung der Geschichte Baalbeks in Mittelalter" im *Centenario della Nascita di Michele Amari*, II, 152.

⁶ An edition of this encyclopedia has been promised by Aḥmad Zeki, the learned second secretary of the Egyptian cabinet. See his *Mashrū 'ḥab' akbar mansū'āt 'arabiyyah miḡriyyah*. Cairo, 1905.

every Friday, and a primary school is to be erected, in which eight orphan children are to receive instruction in reading and writing. Should the *wakf* lapse or be misused, the rents are to be distributed among necessitous Mohammedans.

In the case of the mosque built by the Emir Saif al-dīn Ṭaināl, governor of Tripoli in 726 A.H., the inscription (No. 40) details certain properties, the rents of which are to be used in the proper care of the building; but whatever remains after these expenses have been met, is to be given "to the poor and the indigent who either live in Tripoli or who come thither"—no one is to have a fixed daily or monthly pension.

This fear that misuse might be made of such pious foundations is seen in the decree (No. 57) promulgated during the reign of Kaït Bey (872-907 A.H.) and inscribed above the entrance to the mosque of Arghūn Shah. It is expressly stipulated there that the farming of lands left as *wakf* by Arghūn Shah shall not be let out to the rich, but shall be offered at public sale to the cultivators of the soil (*zarrā 'al-'arḍ*), i.e., to the fellahīn. Another testator, who founded a chapel, a primary school, and a hospital (No. 49), makes the stipulation that the buildings ceded for this purpose shall not be let to one and the same person for more than three years at a time. Unfortunately, we know too well that the curses usually attached to these inscriptions, and directed at those who did not carry out the intentions of the testator, have not been quite efficacious in many instances.

Perhaps the most interesting of these inscriptions are eleven decrees, emanating indirectly from the chancelleries of the Egyptian sultans. It was the custom to have the edict engraven on the wall or over the entrance of a prominent building. Such decrees are more frequent in Syria than they are in Egypt.⁷ They deal largely with the remission of taxes illegally imposed upon the people by some person in authority in the district, and with attempts at what the Germans would call "unlauterer Wetterwerb." Only in a very few cases do we find mention of such edicts in the literary sources; yet they are precious material for the fiscal history of these countries and give us an insight into some phases of the economic life of the people. In this connection, I might point to No. 23 of the present collection (p. 56), dated 817 A.H., in which Sultan Muayyad Shaikh prevents an attempted corner in wheat, meat, and bread; or to No. 32 (p. 76) in which the governor Saif al-Dīn Ināl, in the days of Sultan Kaït Bey (872-901 A.H.) suppresses a monopoly of the local administration, which had forced the producers to sell to it soap, grapes, and oil at a low price in order to hold them "against a rise."⁸ It was the consumers who complained of the high prices they were forced to pay (888 A.H.).

⁷ For a somewhat similar decree in Homs (844 A.H.), see Van Berchem, *Inscriptions gesammelt im Jahre 1899 von Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim in Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, VII, 10.

⁸ In Van Berchem's large volume dealing with the Arabic Inscriptions of Cairo, I have not found more than six such decrees.

Of inscriptions dealing with the remission of taxes, we have several which are of interest. In No. 44 (p. 94) Sultan Sha'bān (747 A.H.) remits the pay for eleven days and a fraction which the heirs of soldiers and officers had to repay, in case the latter died before the completion of their service.⁹ In No. 48 (p. 107) Sultan Muayyad Shaikh (821 A.H.) removes the octroi in the "Market of the Perfumers" in Tripoli. A few years later (No. 26, p. 62) Sultan Barsbai relieves the inhabitants of Tripoli of the charges for post-horses in connection with the Syro-Egyptian route; and in 846 A.H. (No. 27, p. 65) Sultan Jaḡmaḡ remits forever the taxes levied on the products of the looms and the vineyards in the Isma'īlian village Ḳadmus. This same village Ḳadmus, together with Khaf and Khawābī, are relieved in 889 A.H. (No. 33, p. 79) by Sultan Ḳaīt Bey of the taxes on the products of the looms, on the slaughtering of large and small cattle and on the shoe-stretchers of the cobblers.

Unjustly levied taxes are removed by several of the decrees. No. 28 (p. 68) tells us how the sultan Jaḡmaḡ forbade the exactions of a governor in connection with the royal domains; No. 30 (p. 73) how the governor Saif al-Dīn Ināl (*ca.* 873 A.H.), in conjunction with the grand chamberlain and the "royal private secretary in Tripoli," agreed to abolish a daily tax of 114 dirhems laid upon the slaughter-house in favor of the provincial government—acting, no doubt, upon an order of Sultan Ḳaīt Bey. And finally, No. 34 (p. 81) gives us the edict of the governor Kānsaūh al-Yaḡyawī (909 A.H.) restraining the keeper of the castle from exacting more than what *jizyah* and *Kharāj* demanded from the agriculturalists who worked some land that was a *wakf* of the mosque at Mecca.

The volume is sumptuously printed; the plates, with one or two exceptions, make it quite possible to read the inscriptions as photographed or squeezed. Scholars will look forward with pleasure to the forthcoming parts of the work.

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⁹ For fiscal and other purposes, the solar year was made the basis, as in Turkey today. The difference between the solar and lunar years is eleven days and a fraction.

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ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN BEAST FABLES

BY CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON

The late George Smith, who first collected and studied the surviving examples of this species of composition to be found in the remnants of cuneiform literature, applied to those Assyrian and Babylonian stories, in which animals appear as the actors and interlocutors, the name of Fables, and his example has been followed by later Assyriologists. This title is perhaps somewhat misleading, and Professor Teloni,¹ in his little handbook of Assyrian literature, is careful to point out that in practice it is merely employed in a very general sense as a convenient term, without implying that the fables so designated are of the Aesopic variety. As a matter of fact, two distinct classes may be recognized in this branch of cuneiform literature, and a clear distinction may be drawn between the beast story, where the plot and its development, bringing into play the real or supposed characteristics of the various animals, furnish the sole interest, and the apologue, which points a moral or serves some didactic purpose. Since, unfortunately, but few fables have been preserved, it is easy to survey the field. In the first category, comprising such tales as are merely designed to entertain and point

¹ B. Teloni, *Letteratura assira*, Milan, 1903, p. 256.

no obvious moral, may be placed the story of the Eagle and the Serpent—an episode of the legend of Etana—and the story of the Fox. In the former, the young of the serpent are devoured by the eagle, and the serpent, in his grief, goes to the sun-god Shamash, the great judge and righter of wrongs, to complain of the injury and to pray for redress. Shamash advises him to conceal himself within the body of a wild ox, newly slain, and when the eagle descends to feed upon the carcass, to seize him fast, break his wings, and leave him helpless to perish of hunger and thirst. The serpent adopts this plan, but just as the eagle is about to swoop down, a sharp-eyed young eaglet cautions his father to beware, as he thinks he spies the serpent lurking in the carcass. For a while the eagle hesitates, but presently, failing to detect any sign of his enemy, he flies down to the repast and meets his fate. This story is treated in masterly fashion by Dr. Edward T. Harper in his paper *Die babylonischen Legenden von Etana, Zu, Adapa und Dibbara*, and a sketch is given in Weber's *Literatur*, so that no further comment is needed here.²

The story of the Fox is, unfortunately, by no means so well preserved. All that remains of it is published in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*³ Part XV, Plates 31-33, but from these mutilated fragments it is difficult to reconstruct anything approaching a connected narrative. It would seem, however, that the cunning fox has got the dog into trouble. The nature of the trouble is not altogether clear, but perhaps it may be gathered from indications to be found in the fragment published in Plate 31. In line 3 of the reverse sheep are mentioned; in line 15 of the obverse we read [an]a kalbi re'i-šina išteni'u marçâti *he planned trouble for the dog their shepherd*; and in line 13 there is a reference to the jackal (?) *who gnawed into the choicest part of the meat* (barbar ša iššuku dumuq širi). Perhaps, therefore, the dog was decoyed away from the sheep under his charge and, in his absence, some of them were stolen and devoured by the fox and his associates. Some allusions in the obverse of this tablet seem to indicate that the dog was put on trial before Shamash and Ea for his

² For Dr. Harper's paper, in which text, transliteration, translation, and commentary are given, see *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II, pp. 390-521; cf. also Otto Weber, *Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer*, pp. 68 ff.

³ Cited hereafter as *CT*.

apparent negligence, and it is perhaps his advocate who exclaims (obv. l. 16) *â ibbâšî limut kalbi may no harm come to the dog!* It is difficult to connect the rest of this tablet with the story, by reason, no doubt, of our ignorance of some of the incidents, but we learn from the Colophon (rev. ll. 15-20) that the tablet is copied from a Babylonian original belonging to the series *enuma Bel ina mâti iškunu piqittam, when Bel established supervision in the land*. Plate 32 contains a tablet (K. 3641) belonging to a different recension, and, as it is rather better preserved, I shall endeavor to translate it, beginning with line 6. The text may be rendered as follows:

Father
 Mother
 Strength of
 I run swiftly
 Oppressing life
 Thou in that day shalt stand in [judgment];
 Thou knowest the thief, the cunning rogue [thou spiest out];
 'Tis thou whose sentence decides between wickedness and righteousness.
 When the fox came up and sent me,
 In the path he had laid a trap (?) for my feet.
 Now, by the sentence that disposes of life (and death),
 O Shamash, from thy all ruling judgment let him not escape,
 Let them slay the fox, the wise, the cunning.
 When the fox heard this, he lifted up his head before Shamash, weeping:
 Before the glory of Shamash his tears came (flowing),
 'With this judgment; O Shamash' (said he) 'do not condemn me.'

From this we may gather that the dog has been acquitted by his judges, and has laid charges against the fox before the divine tribunal. It is doubtless the dog who, in this passage, pleads for the condemnation of his enemy, and demands the penalty of death. The lachrymose appeal of the fox is evidently successful since, after an interval, due to the mutilated condition of the tablet, we find him not only still living, but venturing into the lion's den (Plate 32, reverse). What he is doing there we are not informed, but perhaps it is made a condition of his liberation that he exhibit a specimen of his cleverness by stealing and bringing to his judges some object known to be in the lion's possession. For such an incident folklore

offers many parallels—for example, the well-known story of the Master Thief in the Grimm Brothers' collection of fairy tales. What remains of the reverse of the text (K. 3641, Plate 32) may be thus translated:

Whoso comes down to my grove cannot turn back,
 Nor can he go forth in safety to see the (light of the) sun.
 As for thee, who art thou, frail mortal,
 Who comest before me in the rage of my heart, in the wrath of my
 countenance.
 I will devour thee, without breaking thee to pieces,
 I will swallow thee (whole), without using violence [upon thee],
 I will seize upon thee, and shut thee up [in darkness],
 I will salt thy flesh, without
 The fox weeps
 He looks in his face
 Thou art the Lion
 Conquering
 Strong
 Mighty

Here the fox is in grave danger, but doubtless his address and cunning carry him safely through as usual, and he accomplishes the task imposed upon him by his judges. The remaining fragments of this story (Plate 33) are so badly mutilated as to yield no connected sense, and it is not worth while to attempt a translation. In addition to these two tales—the story of the Eagle and the Serpent, and that of the Fox—a small fragment (K. 8592), published in Plate 37, seems to contain part of a story about a calf (agalu), but as the obverse is altogether illegible, while the reverse only has the beginnings of a few lines, it is impossible to make out any of the incidents. Plate 38 contains some fragments which appear to form part of a story about a dog, but here again the condition of the fragments is such, that it is impossible to make out any connected sense. It is therefore uncertain to which class these stories should be referred, but the two preceding stories are evidently not to be classed as apologues. They are clearly folk tales dressed in a more elegant literary garb, and it is only in this respect that they differ from the tales of Uncle Remus. I have purposely omitted the story of the toothache worm. It forms part of a charm against a purely mythical

animal, and therefore does not seem to come within the scope of this paper. This story is very fully treated by Meissner, who gives transliteration, translation, and commentary in *MVAG* (1904), No. 13, pp. 40-48.

Of the genuine apologue one example has been preserved, the Fable of the Horse and the Ox, having the form of a dialogue in verse between the two animals. The text is badly mutilated, but considerable portions remain intact or nearly so, and it is possible to obtain a fair idea of the poem. The late George Smith attempted a translation which appeared in his *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, but he was not particularly successful in catching the sense of the rather difficult original. A translation by Boissier, in the 21st volume of *PSBA*, cannot be considered a very material improvement on Smith's version. According to Boissier, for example, there is a destructive inundation, escaping from which the horse and the ox reach safety on the same piece of high ground. The ox begins the conversation by relating a dream he has had. As a matter of fact there is no inundation, but merely the usual spring floods, which serve the useful purpose of watering the fields. The two animals are in no danger of drowning, but meet pasturing comfortably on the meadow. And there is no mention of a dream in the whole poem. At the end of the second column, completing the first tablet, is a colophon which reads: "First part of 'when the mighty Ištar.' Palace of Ašur-ban-apal, King of Assyria." The poem must therefore have formed part of a series beginning with the words "when the mighty Ištar," and the existing copy, since it comes from the library of Ašurbanapal (668-626 B.C.), must date from about the middle of the seventh century B.C. The subject is handled with considerable literary skill, and the poem is characterized by a freshness and a feeling for nature unusual in cuneiform literature. The descriptions of scenery, with the references to upland meadows and mountain torrents, would indicate that the poet was not a Babylonian but an Assyrian—though he may, perhaps, have been more or less influenced by Babylonian literary models. The language and style bear a strong resemblance to the poetical passage in the *Annals* of Ašurbanapal (V R, I, ll. 41-51), and the poem was doubtless composed under one of the Sargonide kings of Assyria. The

versification, in the usual Assyrian meter of four beats to the line, is smooth and polished, and is evidently the work of a skilful hand. In all respects the composition is an excellent example of its special literary type. The arrangement is simple. An introduction of some length, a considerable portion of which is unfortunately lost, gives the *mise en scène* and introduces the actors; then follows the dialogue in alternate strophes, twelve lines being assigned to each speech, except in case of the first speech of the ox which has fourteen lines. The poem opens with a description of the coming of spring and the revival of nature under its benign influence. Part of the text can here be restored from the first speech of the ox, immediately below. When the text becomes legible we read:

The fen lands are in bloom, the fields are green,
 The uplands are drenched, the water-works are set up.
 Ravine and slope bring on the mountain torrents,
 Coming in strength to the water-works, watering the fields.
 Spots as yet without tillage turn to (fertile) plantations,
 In wood and mead the grass grows high.
 The bounteous earth, her womb is opened,
 Yielding generous food for cattle and plenty for the homes of men.
 An ox and a horse formed friendship;
 The fat pasture dilated their bellies,
 And with blithe hearts they lay down (to rest).
 The ox opened his mouth to speak, saying to the horse glorious in battle:
 I seem to have been born under a lucky star;⁴
 At the beginning of the year, at the end of the year, I (always) find food;
 I have fodder in abundance, and spring water in profusion.
 The fen lands put on their covering of green,
 Ravine and slope bring on the mountain torrents,
 The uplands are drenched, the meadows await (them)⁵
 Coming in strength to the water-works, watering the fields;
 Spots as yet without tillage await a cultivator.
 The prudent husbandman, his plant turns green,
 The young shoot grows big and awaits the [harvest].
 But is not the horse a son of the field, treading the meadows?
 Change thy mode of life⁶ and come away with me.
 Come up without

⁴ Literally: "I look and (find that) my omens are propitious."

⁵ I.e., the torrents, which also form the subject of the next two clauses.

⁶ Literally: thyself.

The beginning of the horse's reply is broken away, but from what follows he seems to say that he desires something more stirring than the placid life described by the ox; war and the chase are the occupations in which he delights. With the last four lines of this speech the text again becomes legible:

Strong brass covering my body
They put upon me, I wear it like a garment;
Without me, the fiery steed,
Nor king, nor prince, nor lord, nor noble fares upon the way.

The ox opened his mouth to speak, saying to the horse glorious in battle:
Thou, indeed, art clad in splendid raiment,
But, in (this) battle of thine what (part have) I?
Of every chariot I complete the outfit.
From my skin are taken its coverings;
From my sinews are taken its fastenings.
As for thee, the arrows of the warrior, his quiver, his weapons,
Mighty and gleaming thou must carry upon thee;
The spur of thy master wounds thy side.
Thou findest not the way, but like a weakling art thou;
Thine eyes behold, but unless thy lord so wills,
Thou goest no path, the bridle rein controls thee.

The horse opened his mouth to speak, saying to the ox perfect in strength.

Unfortunately this speech is badly mutilated, only the beginnings of the lines remaining, except in the last few lines, but it is evident that the horse exalts his own valor and achievements and scorns the ox as a drudge. In its present fragmentary state, the speech runs:

At my neighing [warriors] rejoice
The spur
The weapons
. . overthrowing
. . the heart of a lion
Beyond the river
On the mountain path.
Thou art bound, O ox, to the water wheel
Thy food is the dregs(?) of the earth
But the horse like a lion(?)

The ox opened his mouth to speak, saying [to the horse glorious in battle]:
"With regard to the water wheel whereof thou dost speak."

Here the tablet comes to an end, the beginning of the ox's speech merely giving the catch-line for the next tablet of the series. At the bottom is the colophon: "First part of (the series) 'when the mighty Ištar.' Palace of Ašurbanapal, king of Assyria." Plate 36 contains two fragments, K. 8197 and K. 8198, the former yielding no connected sense, except in one line to be cited later, while in the latter the horse says (ll. 10-11):

[K1] ili-ma sfsû kâbit iš[dixxi-]ma
[at]ta u agalê tazâbilâ dup[šikk]u:

"The horse is like a god, stately of step,
(While) thou and the calves wear the cap of serfdom."

The fragments of Plate 37 yield no additional information.

The didactic purpose of the poem is of course apparent; it contrasts the peaceful life of useful labor with the stirring life of the warrior keen for military glory. How the poet decides the matter is difficult to say. So far, at least, the horse has rather the better of the argument, but in the introduction the author exhibits a certain feeling for nature and sympathy for agricultural pursuits, so that it may reasonably be conjectured that the ox has his turn in the portion that is lost. The same theme is familiar to us from our own collections of fables, where the horse still appears as the representative of military glory, the part of the ox being usually transferred to the ass. Our poem is also interesting as a very early example of the *Streitgedicht*, which enjoyed such popularity in mediaeval times. So far as I am aware, it is the only example of this species of composition, as also of the apologue, occurring in cuneiform literature. In form and treatment, however, it is evidently typical of a class which must have been more or less extensively cultivated. In his article on "Purim" (p. 9), Professor Haupt says: "The stories in the Arabian Nights may be classified in three categories: fables, fairy-tales, and anecdotes. The fables are ultimately Babylonian; the fairy-tales Persian; and the anecdotes Arabian." In the stories I have just cited we have some examples of the fables which, handed on for many centuries, found their way at length into the great Arabian collection. In antiquity, moreover, there was a lively intercourse between the East and the West, and it is more than possible that many of our Aesopic favorites go ultimately back to Babylonian originals.

TRANSLITERATION AND PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

FABLE OF THE FOX

55470 CT XV, Plate 31

OBVERSE

.....			iqábf
.....			i]séma
..... u]ba'u			marta
..... ma			limuttu
5. ta			ixterá
..... epiš			entti
..... ġilip			dñf-ma
..... mekû			ratátu
.... a]melu ġibussu	ul		iksud
10. nullata			ibáñf
.... nul]latu	iše'a		mixça
.... ma-ru	isáxar		dña
. u barbar ša	iššuku dumuq	širi	
. da iššaknu-ma	imdáxarû	Šamaš u Ea.	
15. . a]na kalbi re'i-šina	išteniu	marçatf	
. . umma á ibbášf	limut	kalbi	
. . innadrû-ma lá ittadû		šallat-sun	

šélibu anníta	ina	šemi-šu
. . ra ana šélibi	ina	xurri
20. . ibrût-ka	mexû	abûbu
..... tu		xarbašu
..... ġu ka lu	

COMMENTARY

- l. 3. uba'u martu *he seeks the gall*. For martu *gall* see Zimmern, *Šurpu*, 7, 26, etc.
- l. 5. ixterá *he dug*. I-2 from xarû, xerû, cf. DHW 289^b
- l. 6. epiš entti *practicing oppression*. enttu is fem. used for abstract neuter, from enû *to oppress*. Heb. עָנָה, עָנָה, etc.
- l. 7. ġilip dñi *perversion of justice*. ġilip is construct of a word ġilpu, which does not occur elsewhere. Cf. DHW 256^b, and Meissner, *Suppl.*, 34^a, where the stem is given as גָּלַח (with גָּ ? as an alternative reading). In the present case the first stem consonant is certainly ג. In Syriac there are two stems גָּלַח, *to defile, corrupt*, and גָּלַח, *to wound, pierce, cut off*.

- l. 8. mekû *need, weakness*, from akû DHW 52^a. ratātu, in the same line, is doubtless to be compared to Heb. and Targ. רָרַר, *trembling, terror*.
- l. 10. nullata *injustice, wrong, adversity*, DHW 454^a. Traces of the word are found in the following line (l. 11). Cf. Haupt in ZDMG, 65, 563.
- l. 12. isáxar *to seek, properly to go about (after)*. Cf. DHW 494^b.
- l. 13. barbar seems to be construct of barbaru *jackal*.
- l. 14. imdáxarû Šamaš u Ea *S. and E. meet*.

REVERSE

..... tab na
... bar ra ba a na na
ana	çeni
.. šu i-bi-eš	axitu
5. .. uça-ma ana biti-šu	išésí bába
.. AN.TUM.MA.AL u amtu širu	ŠAR.A.
.. LAL.DUK.A.LI.BA.KIT.	pitáníma
arkišunu	lušbí'ma.
	liṭṭarid
10. [ina] puxur kimtiia ana Ea	belija niqa luqqí
... su šélibu usappá	Bel
.. dax ul	iziba
.. na ga ul	urabbá
niqu pí balata	muxur

15. ... enuma Bel ina máti iškunu piqittu
ZAK.TIL.LA.BI.ŠU.
... gal li GAB.RI KA.DINGIR.RA.KI.
GIM.KA.IM-pu čarpa šaṭar ina[qât] Marduk-šumí-uçur
[ana? ..]nâdin-ibrí apal Kudurâna išṭur
20. apal An Mulilbim

COMMENTARY

- l. 3. ana çeni *to the sheep*; cf. obv. l. 15.
- l. 4. ibiś axitu *announce to him misfortune* - ibiś I take as impv. of nabû *to call, announce* (DHW 441^a) + the contracted pronominal suffix (DG §56b, addenda). axitu *misfortune*, see Klauber *Assyrisches Beamtentum*, 70, n. 5.
- l. 5. *He went forth to his house and called out at the door.*

1. 6. AN.TUM.MA.AL = Iltu Kušeratu *the pure goddess*, an epithet of Bélit (NIN.LIL.LA) according to VR 21, 22a; K. 4378 V (AL³, p. 88), l. 24; II. R., 46, 23-24d.
1. 7. pitānīma is imperative.
1. 8. DUK.A.LI.BA.KIT = karpāt egubbi *a jar of lustral water*.
1. 9. liṭṭarid *let him be driven away*, niphal of טָרַד.
1. 10. *with all my family I will make offerings to Ea* : who the speaker is here, is difficult to determine.
1. 11. usappā *prays*, cf. DHW, 507^b.
1. 15. enuma Belina māti iškunu piqittu *when Bel established supervision in the land* : apparently the title of the series like enum Ištar šurbūtum in the story of the Horse and the Ox.
1. 16. ZAK.TIL.LA.BI.ŠU = ina gimrišu *in its entirety*; of Brünnow's List, No. 6500.
1. 17. GAB.RI.KA.DINGIR.RA.KI = gabrī Babīli = *copy of a Babylonian (original)*.
1. 18. GIM = kt; KA = pī; IM-pu = duppu + the phonetic complement pu. The Assyrian order is followed and the ideograms are used merely as abbreviations. The line should, therefore, be read: kt pī duppu ʕarpa šaṭar ina [qāt] Marduk-šumū-uṣur *written according to the silver tablet by M.—š.—u*. I think that qāt has accidentally dropped out after ina.

FABLE OF THE FOX

K. 3641. CT XV, Plate 32

OBVERSE

- be
 du?
 aš du
 a-na
 5. at na?
 abi
 ummu na-bu
 emuq a
 alsum
 10. eṭip napšāti
 atta ina umišu-ma tazzaši t[adinna?];
 tidī šarraqu muštepišu ta[bārī];
 ša raggu u mišāri kibitsu e[rix atta].
 ištu elā-ma šēlibu uma'irāni ā[ši]
 15. ina kibsa karra iškunu ina šepiia.
 eninna ina kibīti ubburat napišti,

^{AN}Šamaš, ina dīnika murtudû â uçf,
enqu muštepišu lidûkû šêlibu.

Šêlibu annītu ina šemī-šu, iššī rēši-šu ana pân Šamaš
ibákī,

20. ana pân šarûri ša Šamaš illakû dimâ-šu,
ina dīni šuati, Šamaš, lâ tubbarâni.

COMMENTARY

- l. 10. eṭip napšâti, probably *oppressing life*; eṭip part. from eṭēpu (Heb. עֲטַף *to cover*). For the sense katâmu would offer a good parallel, and for examples of the stem see DHW 46^a; Meissner *Suppl.* 4^a (under עֲטַף).
- ll. 11–14. The restorations at the ends of these lines are, of course, to be regarded as conjectural, though they would seem to be suggested by the context.
- l. 12. muštepišu means not only *wizard* but also ‘*cunning*’—epêšu *to bewitch* is identical with epêšu *to do* just as German *anthun* means both *to put on* and *to bewitch*. eppišu and itpêšu *clever* also come from the same stem, meaning properly *active*, then *able*, and then *clever*. See 82, 5–22, 130 (=H. 1105), obv. 19: nitepšu nultepišu *we are active and energetic*. See also eppišu *clever* as synonym of enqu, xassu, mudû, etc., in S. A. Smith’s *Miscel. Texts*, p. 25, l. 34.
- l. 13. erêxu, prt. erix, *to judge, decide between*, see DHW 132^b. The subject of erix is kibīt-su: *it is thou* (atta) ša kibītsu erix raggu u mišâru.
- l. 15. karra *trap, snare*; the meaning is here derived from the context.
- l. 16. ubburat is 3 fem. perm. II. 1, cf. DHW 9^b. ubburu means properly *to bind* (Heb. עָבַר), and so *to ban*, etc.
- l. 17. murtudû *ruling, (all) ruling*, is a by form of murtedû part I, 2, from redû DHW 613^a; cf. also Ylvisaker *Gram.* § 7.
- l. 18. I take lidûkû as 3 pl. impersonal, and enqu and muštepišu as in apposition to šêlibu: *Let them slay the fox, the wise, the cunning*. See note on l. 12 above.

REVERSE

ârid kištiia ul utâra ana arki-šu,
u šalmiṣ ul uççfī-ma ul immar ^{AN}Šamša-šu.
atta â’u, lâ le’u amê[lam?],
ša ina uggat libbiia-ma, uzzat pâniia tîšera ana max[rii]a.
5. lûkulka-ma ul ašâbirka,

- lul'utka-ma ul tapparik,
 luçubbitka-ma ul uka[llam-ka nûra],
 lumallix štreka-ma u[l
 ibáktî šêlibu
 10. ináṭal páni-šu . . .
 atta nešu
 kâsid
 ezzu
 dannu
 15. en xu
 i ma

COMMENTARY

- l. 1. utâra is only apparently intransitive; as a matter of fact irta-šu
 or some similar expression is understood. Cf. DHW 702^a.
 l. 3. amêlam, the traces of the last character seem (in CT XV, Pl. 32)
 to suit lam, and the expression lâ lê'u amêlam would mean
frail mortal.
 ll. 5-6. These two lines are explained by Meissner, *MVAG* (1910), No. 5,
 p. 42. They seem to mean that the lion could swallow the fox
 whole, without the need of breaking him into pieces or using any
 other violence upon him in order to facilitate the operation.
 tapparik is IV. 1.
 l. 7. luçubbit-ka, a by-form of luçabbit and I take the construction
 as pregnant. The traces, in connection with l. 2, seem to favor the
 restoration of uka[llam-ka nûra]. The line would mean, there-
 fore: *I will seize thee and imprison thee (where) I shall not let thee see
 the light*.
 l. 8. lumallix štreka *I will salt thy flesh*. tumallax occurs V R 45,
 col. iii, 20, and the perm. mullux occurs as an astronomical term
 III R 52, 18^a. Cf. DHW 412^a.

N.B.—The fragments in CT XV, Pl. 33, are so mutilated that they
 would hardly repay an attempt to translate them.

FABLE OF THE HORSE AND THE OX

K. 3456+D.T. 43—CT XV, Plate 34

OBVERSE

- . . la ša a ši?
 . . am mi ši?
 i-zi-ki
 a-na ma
 5. šarru Iš[tar
 su-pi-e[-

- iš-mi-i[.
 ša-am-m[i? na
 gub-bu ba nâru . .
10. ša-pu nu-ux . .
 mi-lu ša kar-kar ša ili . .
 ik-lu šu ik i-šu-u pa-na . .
 çuç[û išixuma, itlu]lâ qarbâ[tum],
 bamâ[tum ubbulâ, ikk]arrâ tamerâ[tum].
15. xurru n[adbaku ušat]balum šadû'â'e,
 ana tamer[âti idni]nû, ingirû ugaru.
 ašrât lâ me[rišti ana šu]tlûti ittur,
 ina kiši [u ugari] išixû šamme.
 ša xarup[tum] erçitim ippaṭir kirib-ša,
20. merit būlim ušammixa, appâta ušaxçab.
 alpu u sisû ippušû ru'ûta;
 idxud karassunu šamuxta rîta,
 irši-ma ulça libba-šunu ippušû çallûta.
-
- alpu pâ-šu epuš-ma iqábî izzákar ana sisî na'id qabli:
25. attáṭalâ-ma dummuqâ idátu'a;
 ina reš šatti u kîṭ šatti attáṭala meriti;
 ixtarpûni akâl kiššati ittagpušû mē naqbi.
 çuçû itlulu çipâ iltaknu,
 xurru nadbaku ušatbalû šadû'â'e,
30. bamâtum ubbulû, irxuçâ qarbâtum,
 ana tamerâti idninû, ingirû ugaru;
 ašrât lâ mērišti irriša raxçâ.
 *m nangu mudû ittaraq qî-šu,
 edakku kubburunî-ma uqâ'u [ebûru].
35. u sisû lâ mâr ugari, idárisa qar[bâtam]?
 nukkir ramânuk isî ittiîa.
 eli-ma ina la u

COMMENTARY

- N. B. The mutilated portions of ll. 13-16 have been restored, from indications furnished by ll. 28-32.
- l. 13. itlulâ (perm. I. 2 from אִלְלָא) properly *are bright*; here, with special reference to the fresh color of the fields in spring, *are green*.
- l. 14. ubbulâ, perm. II. 1, from אָבַל *to submerge, flood*, cf. Macmillan in BA V. 550. 604. ikkarrâ *are set up*, IV. 1, from karâru, cf. Meissner, *Suppl.* 50^b. tamerâtu means not *neighborhood*, but *water-works*. The stem is amâru = Ar. ġāmara *to be abundant*; see Haupt's remarks on this word in *AJSL* 26, 23.

- l. 15. šadû'â'e *mountain torrents* is a nisbe form from šadû *mountain*, and the more special meaning is suggested by the context. The word also occurs l. 29 below. Cf. also: ^{am} šadû'â ša batti-batti-ni nêxû *the mountaineers round about us are quiet*, H. 713, obv. 5. Here šadâ would be merely the accusative of šadû *mountain*, while šadû'â, the nisbe, is the form required.
- l. 16. idninû literally: *they* (i.e., the mountain torrents) *are strong at the water water-works*, they come to them in great abundance. The verbs are here preterite, though in my translation I have used the present as being more graphic. ingirû *they water* (the subject is still šadû'â'e) from meqêru *to water*, with partial assimilation of the nasal. This verb is treated by Meissner, *MVAG* (1910), 5, p. 44. From this stem are derived nangaru (Talquist, *Contracte*, p. 100), and namgaru (KB iv, 222) *irrigation trench*. Talmudic נִגְרָא *trench for irrigation*, Targ. נִגְרָא (Heb. נִגְרָא) *to flow*, נִגְרָא *stream*, etc., are doubtless Babylonian loan words. ^{am} nangaru (l. 33 below) does not here mean *carpenter*, but *husbandman*, properly *irrigator*. Here נ stands for ק, and we have nangaru = manqaru* = maqqaru* a form qatṭal from the stem meqêru. nangaru *carpenter* = naggaru, a form qatṭal from nagâru.
- l. 17. šutlûti *plantations* (Heb. שָׁתַל) is here a collective abstract like amelûtu *mankind*, abûtu *fathers*; cf. Haupt in *AJSL* 26, 12. The traces of the character šut seem quite clear. From the same stem we have šitlu *sprout, shoot* (DHW 696*), and astil *I planted*, cf. Meissner, *MVAG* (1910), 5, p. 20; Meissner and Rost BS., p. 40. For astil (s for š before t) cf. Del. Gr. §51; Ylvisaker *Bab. u. Assy. Gr.*, pp. 9–10. Since ašrât is the subject of the verb, we should expect itturâ here instead of ittur; the omission of a is doubtless accidental.
- l. 19. xaruptum *bounteous*, xarâpu, *to abound*, is to be compared to Arabic xârafa *to gather fruit*, and Heb. אוֹתוֹן *autumn*. See my remarks on this stem in *PAOS* xxix (1908), p. 226. Kirbu properly means *interior*; cf. Haupt in *JAOS* 26, 3.
- l. 20. merit *pasturage, fodder*, from rê'u *to pasture*; cf. l. 26 below. appâta (ap-pa-ta) is merely a different orthography for apâta (DHW 111^b) *human habitations, mankind* (BA iii, 284). The bounteous earth gives in abundance, filling the needs both of animals and of men.
- l. 22. šamuxta rîta *the fat pasturage*; the same expression, written ša-mux-tum ri-i[-tum], occurs in the fragment K. 8197, l. 14 (Plate 37).
- l. 23. ça-lu-u-ta is here merely another orthography for çallûta from çalalû *to lie down* (DHW 567^{ab}).

1. 25. Literally: *I look and excellent are my signs*. idātu'a *my signs*, cf. DHW 304^b.
1. 27. Literally: *the eating of fodder abounds to me, spring water is in profusion*. ixtarpûni *abounds to me*, I. 2 from xarâpu with pronominal suffix (ni) of first person (DG §56b); for the stem cf. note on l. 19 above. kiššati (written kiš-ša-ti) stands here for kissati *fodder* (DHW 344^a). ittagpušû, IV, 2, from gapâšu *to be massive, huge, profuse*; for the stem see Meissner, *MVAG* (1907), 3, p. 23.
1. 28. çipâ (written çî-pa) iltaknu, *has put on (its) covering*. For çipû *clothing, properly covering*, see Zehnpfund in BA, i, 500. çupâtu *clothing* (Str. Nbd. 222. 731) is from the same stem, צפף *to cover, put on*.
1. 30. ubbulû *they are drenched*; see note on l. 14 above. We should expect ubbulâ, since the subject is bamâtum. irxuça qarbatum *the fields await* (the mountain torrents). The uplands receive the first benefits of the irrigation, while the lowland meadows (qarbatum) await the coming of the life-giving flood.
1. 32. irriša raxça *await a cultivator*, i.e., they only need proper cultivation to become fertile plantations; see l. 17 above. See Haupt's article *Ikkâr und Irrîš Landmann* in ZDMG, lxx, 561 ff.
1. 33. nangaru mudû *the prudent husbandman*, nominative absolute. For nangaru see note on l. 16 above. mudû means *properly well informed*. ittaraq, a form I. 2. from arâqu *to be green*, DHW 243^b. qû *plant*, might also be rendered *vegetable*; it is distinguished from grain in the instructive passage: bânû še'am u qî, mudiššû urqîti *who produces grain and vegetables, makes the green herb flourish luxuriantly*, King's *Magic* 12, 30, cited in Meissner's *Suppl.* 82^a. Here qî is singular, but is used in a collective sense like edaqqu in the following line.
1. 34. edaqqu properly an adjective, meaning *young, tender* (DHW 27^b), here *the young shoot*, like ediqu a synonym of pirxu. The root is connected with daqqu *small*, etc., DHW 228^a. ku-bu-ru-ni-ma stands, of course, for kubburunîma, perm. II. 1. from כבר, DHW 314^b. uqâ'u [ebûru]. For this orthography (u-qa-a-a-u) see DG §114. The young shoot turns from a pale to a deeper green color, then assumes its growth, and finally awaits the ripening of its product.
1. 35. u sisû lâ mâr ugari *but is not the horse a son of the field?* the rhetorical question. idârasa qarbatum, circumstantial clause, DG §152. In Arabic dârasa means *to thresh grain*, which in the East is accomplished by driving oxen, horses, etc., over the ears.
1. 36. nukkir ramânuk, literally: *change thyself*. isî is imperative of

nesû (N.55), DHW 470^a; for the form cf. DG §§ 49^b, 100.
KI[-ia]=ittija, the restoration is, of course, conjectural.

1. 37. elf-ma *come up!* impve. of elû, DHW 60^b. ina lā *without*—
the rest of the line is broken away, only some faint traces remaining.

REVERSE

na ti

šmti u

erû danna mukaççidu [zumrija],

kima çubâti nalbušaku, inam[dinû elfja];

5. ela jâti, mâr lasimi m[urnisqi],
šarru, šakkanakku, enu, u rubû ul iba'u padâna.

alpu pâ-šu epuš-ma iqâbi, izzakar ana çtçl na'[id qabli]:
atta-mâ etukku takdira [lubâšu],
ina taxâzi-ka mîni [anâkû-ma]?

10. kal narkabti šugmuraku te'ûti[-ša].
ina maškija çubbutû [naxlapê-ša];
ina bu'ânêja çubbutû [riksâti-ša].
uçê mundaxçi, išpat[a-šu, bêlê-šu],
ezûti, arîrê, našâ[ta elf çîri-ka];
15. kalûbu bêlê-ka šutamx[uçu sônu-ka].
ul tamar kibsa, kima dunn[amû atta];
balçâ-ma enâ-ka, ul [çibû bêlê-ka],
ul tallak urxa, elf appâ[ti tadâlûni].

ststû pâ-šu epuš-ma iqâbi, [izzakar ana alpi gitmali
ammatu]

20. ina rigmija xid[â xi'alânu]
kalûbu u
kakkê
u a ? mušamqitu
. . nu libbu ša labbî-ma
25. ina ebir nâri šu
ina urux šadê i
ašdâtâ-ma, alpu, xarxar[u]
ina šipri-ka ulizzaz [šêpu-ka]
imrû-ka taxxu qaqqari
30. kî nêšu (?) ststû

alpu pâ-šu epuš-ma iqâbi, izzakar ana[stst na'id qabli].
aššu xarxari ša taqbû [atta].
nisxu maxrû enum " Istar šurbûtum
êkal Ašur-bân-apal šar kiššati šar matAšsur.

COMMENTARY

- l. 3. mukaççidu, part. II. 1, from kuççudu (or quççudu) properly to bind, a synonym of uççulu and buççulu; see DHW 348^b. 121^a. 181^a. The restoration of zumrija, or some similar word, is suggested by the context.
- l. 4. inamdinû elfia they put upon me, the plural verb used impersonally.
- l. 8. atta-mâ; for mâ instead of ma see DHW 387^a. etukku splendid, magnificent, cf. DHW 157^a. takdira thou wearest, seems to come from the same stem as kudurru boundary, a stem meaning properly to surround, encompass; here, used of garments, to wrap oneself, to put on. Delitzsch cites (HW 319^a) the passage from IV R. 51, 47f. a: kudurru lâ kêtî uktaddir, kudurru kêtî ul ukaddir Has he invested himself with unlawful territory, has he failed to invest (others) with (their) lawful territory? lubâšu, which I have restored here, seems to be demanded by the context.
- l. 9. ina taxâzi-ka mîni [anâkû-ma], literally: in this fighting of thine, what am I? That is, in this warfare about which you talk so much, where am I? what part do I play?
- l. 10. šugmuraku I complete, perm. III. 1, from gamâru. For the transitive meaning of the Shafel Permansive, see DG § 89. It is hardly necessary to repeat that the restorations here attempted are conjectural, though they would seem to be suggested by the context.
- l. 11. naxlapê-ša its coverings. Bull's hide, which is very tough and strong, was commonly used to cover the body of the chariot.
- l. 12. riksâti-ša its fastenings. The sinews of the ox furnished a particularly strong cord with which the various parts of the chariot were wrapped together. For the feminine plural cf. DG § 70a.
- l. 14. arîrê offers some difficulty here, since it has the nominal plural, and not that of adjectives. It seems best to take arîrê as in apposition to the preceding nouns, thus: the arrows of the warrior, his quiver, his weapons, mighty, gleaming ones. Being thus used as a noun, arîru may appropriately take the nominal plural; cf. DG § 67, 66.
- l. 15. kalûbu spur; in Arabic kâlaba means to spur a horse, and kallûb means the spur of a hawk. šutamx[uçu šûna-ka] wounds thy flank, literally is caused to wound.
- l. 16. ul tammar kibsa thou dost not find the way; for amâru used in this sense, see DHW 89-90. The meaning of the passage (ll. 16-18) is: You do not find your own way, and choose your own path, but, although you can see well enough, you are controlled by the bridle rein, and it is your master's will, not yours, that prevails.

- l. 17. balçâ-ma enâ-ka, *thine eyes behold*; balçâ is permansive Qal of balâçu, and bulluçu occurs as a synonym of nikilmû *to look at, behold*; cf. DHW 721^a. ul çibû bêlê-ka is the protasis of a conditional sentence of which ul tallak urxa forms the apodosis: *if thy lord does not so will, thou goest no whither*.
- l. 18. elî appâti tadâlû-ni literally: *thou goest about by the bridle rein*. For appâtu *bridle, reins*, see KB V, 43^{*}; see also my remarks on dâlu in JAOS, 22, 24. A good parallel to the present use of this verb is to be found in H. 118, 8-10: amêlu ša ina muxxi pî ša bêlê-šu i-du-lu-u-ni *a man who walks by his lord's command*.
- l. 19. gitmali ammatu *perfect in strength*, restored from K. 8197 (Plate 36), l. 9 where we have [stšû] pâ-šu epuš-ma iqâbi ana alpi gitmali a-ma-tu. The last word evidently stands for ammatu *strength*, which is discussed by Dr. Klauber in *Babyloniaca* IV. 186. The parallel phrase gitmalu emûqi occurs NE 12, 38. 45.
- l. 27. ašdâtâ-ma *thou art bound*, literally: *joined*. See Meissner's *Suppl.* 18, where is cited the passage: uššid rikissa *I made firm its fastening, joined it firmly*. xarxaru *water wheel*, properly the bucket attached to the water wheel, but here (and l. 32 below) the whole apparatus is intended. See Meissner and Rost BS, p. 38. The word occurs Sennach. vii, 46-47; tarçâte siparri xarxari siparri ušepiš-ma, which is translated in CT XXVI, p. 26: *I fashioned levers of bronze and buckets of bronze*. For agricultural purposes the so-called bucket was usually a large leather vessel formed of a bullock skin. To this vessel were fastened ropes which, after passing over wooden rollers, were attached to oxen and by them the full "bucket" was drawn to the level of the field. The "bucket" was then emptied into a wooden trough, and lowered into the water for a fresh supply. See Layard *Ninveh and its Remains*, Part I, p. 287 (New York, 1856).
- l. 28. šêpu-ka, either this or some similar word (e.g. birku-ka) is needed to complete the sense.
- l. 29. imrû *fodder*, see DHW 92^b. taxxu *refuse*, properly something thrown away. taxâxu is a syn. of zarâqu, and raxâxu *to sprinkle, pour out*, and from this to *cast away* is an easy step. 83, 1-18, 1330, col. iii. 18, taxxu ša nûni seems to mean the *refuse (entrails) of fish*.
- l. 30. I have, with some hesitation, rendered the ideogram UR.NUN by nêšu *lion*. The usual Sumerian equivalent of nêšu is, of course, UR.MAX, but UR.NUN has about the same meaning and may be a by-form.

U of M

PLATE 36

Reference has already been made, in my note on l. 19 above, to l. 9 of the fragment K. 8197. The fragment K. 8198 contains two lines (ll. 10-11) which may be translated:

[kî] ilu-ma sîsû, kâbit iš[dixxi-]ma,
 [at]ta u agalê tazâbilâ dup[šikk]u.
 Like a god is the horse, stately of step,
 [while] thou and the calves wear the cap of serfdom

The fragments on Plate 37 yield no connected sense.

1100

ZUR POLITIK UND KULTUR DER SARGONIDENZEIT

UNTERSUCHUNGEN AUF GRUND DER BRIEFTEXTE

VON ERNST GEORG KLAUBER

I

Eine reiche Fundgrube bieten die bisher veröffentlichten neubabylonischen und neuassyrischen Briefe für Details der politischen Ereignisse seit Sargons Zeit, besonders für die Kämpfe in und gegen Babylonien, gegen das Meerland und Elam. Bilden doch die Briefe politischen Inhaltes mit denen kultischen Inhaltes den Hauptstock der grossen Briefsammlung aus Asurbanipals Bibliothek. Der Verwertung dieses Materials für die Zeitgeschichte stehen aber insofern Schwierigkeiten entgegen, weil abgesehen von den allen Brieftexten anhaftenden Eigentümlichkeiten, die das Verständnis erschweren, die chronologisch richtige Einordnung der in ihnen erwähnten Ereignisse und Personen oft noch nicht möglich ist. Doch steht zu hoffen, dass wenn einmal alle in Betracht kommenden Texte veröffentlicht sind und systematische Arbeit eingesetzt hat, dann auf Grund des reichen Vergleichsmaterials Klarheit geschaffen werde.

Vorläufig ist es aber vor allem wichtig neu hinzugekommene Texte auf ihren Wert für Zeit- und Kulturgeschichte hin zu prüfen und sie wo möglich mit schon veröffentlichten in Beziehung zu setzen.

Sanherib hat anscheinend zu Lebzeiten seines Vaters eine bedeutende Stellung als Statthalter der Grenzprovinzen gegen Armenien eingenommen, wie wir aus seinen Berichten an den König ersehen. Ein solcher Brief Sanheribs an Sargon ganz nach dem Schema der schon bekannten, besonders [196], [197], [198] ist der neue Text [1079] Rm. 554,¹ wie obv. 2 ergibt; diese Zeile ist nämlich [an-ni-] u ʔe-e-mu ša ^ma[sur-r]i-ṣu-a zu ergänzen, eine Aussage, die sich in Sanheribs Briefen findet (vgl. [197], rv. 4, [198], rv. 11, vergl. [197], obv. 19 f). Der Text lautet: ¹. kid muh (?) ina bit . . al (?) kid ²[an-ni]-ú ʔe-e-mu ša ^masur-ri-ṣu-a ³. . . bēl ^{a mēl} šanu-u ša ^{a mēl} nagir ēkalli ⁴[ina pa-n]i-ia it-tal-ka ma-a

¹ Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, Vol. XI. Die Zahlen in eckigen Klammern beziehen sich auf die Bände I–XI des Harper'schen Briefcorpus.

^mur-za-an-na ⁵[is]-sa-ap-ra ma-a ^{amēl}māt urarṭa-a-a ⁶.
u-ni bi-id il-lik-ū-ni ⁷. . . a ^{amēl}e-mu-qi-e-šu di-e-ka ⁸ma-a
^{amēl}bēl-pahāti ša ^{a1}u-a-si ⁹di-e-ki ma-a qu-di-i-ni ¹⁰arah
aiiar(?) ik tu la-a ni-har-ra-za, rv. ¹. . . ki-ma ni-ih-ta-
ār-za ². . . ša ṭe-e-mu-ni ni-ša-par-ka ³. . . ^{amēl}šā bit-
hal-a-te ⁴. . . ? lu-da-a-ri ⁵. . . VI hal-qu il-lu-ku ⁶. . . a
li ša bit ^{amēl}nagir-ēkalli ⁷. . . [t]a-hu-me ša ^{māt}hu-bu-
uš-ki-a ⁸. ṣab-bit-u-ni ⁹. bir-a-te
im Hause . . . dies ist der Bericht von Asur-riṣua . . . bēl² der
Zweite des Palastvogtes ist zu mir gekommen (sagend) "Urzana hat
geschickt die Urartäer . . . sowie sie giengen . . . seine Truppen
sind getötet. Der Statthalter von Uasi ist getötet — haben wir nicht
erforscht, rv. sowie wir es erforscht haben . . . werden wir unsern
Bericht senden . . . Reiter . . . lu-da-a-ri³ VI sind geflohen sie
gehen . . . vom Hause des Palastvogtes . . . Grenze von Hubuskia
. . . sind gefangen . . . Festungen. . . ." Vorgänge in Urartu
behandelt auch ein anderer fragmentarischer Bericht, [1048] S. 358,
der Name des Absenders ist unbekannt; ¹. . . lu šulmu ^m. . . .
²asur bel ³li-di-nu ⁴ina ^{māt}mu-us ⁵amēl
bēl-pahāti ^{mēš}. ⁶muh ṭe-e-me ša ^{māt}urarṭi ^{ki} ⁷ahi-šu
ša ^mur-za-na ⁸. . . šulmu-bel i . . . ⁹. . . i[-]su-hu-[ru?] . . .
¹⁰. . . [p]a-ni? rv. . . ¹. . . i(?) -na . . . ²ina bit is mu
. ³a-za-qa-ap ina ^{a1}. . . ⁴a-na-ku dul-lu ša ūmu
^m[u?] . . ⁵e-pa-aš lib-bu ša . . lu ṭāb. Eine Uebersetzung des
verstümmelten Textes zu geben, ist kaum notwendig, šulum bel
in Z. 7 ist wahrscheinlich ein Eigennamen. Wie der Landesname in
Z. 4 zu ergänzen ist, weiss ich nicht, man möchte dem Zusammen-
hange nach zunächst eher an Muzasir denken als an ein Muṣri.

Ein historisch recht interessanter neuer Brief ist [1103] 82-5-22,
117. Wie bekannt haben die grossen Herrscher aus Sargons Hause
jeder sich eine andere Residenz erwählt; mit dem neuen Könige
mussten dann natürlich auch die vornehmen Familien ihren Wohn-
sitz verlegen. Auf solche Verhältnisse spielt unser Text an. Obv. 2-6
bezieht sich auf einen feierlichen Auszug der Göttin Istar. Sicheres
über die Art und den Anlass dieses Festes lässt sich nicht sagen.

* Rest des Eigennamens.

* Ich möchte dies als Rest eines Eigennamens ansehen, etwa ^mŠarru-lu-da-a-ri.

obv. 2 ff.: ²ūmu ^{mu}ša ¹¹ištar ina muh... ³te-lu-u-ni ^{4amēl}
na-ši-ia-ni e-ta-lu-u-ni ⁵ina bīt-ili a-ta-mar-šu-nu
⁶gab-bu sa-ak-lu-te šu-nu ⁷me-me-ni ištū lib-bi qi-in-
na-te ⁸ša ^{a1}ninua la-bi-ru-te rv. ¹la-aš-šu ša ina lib-bi
abi-ka ²iz-zi-zu-u-ni ³gab-bu ina ^{a1}kal-ha šu-nu ⁴ú-ma
an-nu-rig a-na šarri bēli-ia ⁵[a-s]ap-ra a-na ^{amēl}?...?
⁶... lib.... "Am Tage, da Istar gegen... hinauf zog, sind die
našiiiani (Träger [?]) hinaufgezogen,⁵ im Tempel habe ich sie
gesehen, töricht sind sie alle. Irgendeiner aus den alten Familien
von Ninive ist nicht vorhanden. Die zur Zeit deines Vaters sich
aufgehalten, sind insgesamt in Kalhu. Und jetzt habe ich zum
Könige, meinem Herrn, geschickt dem...." Da die Residenz
offensichtlich von Ninive nach Kalhu verlegt worden ist, handelt es
sich also um ein Ereignis aus Asarhaddons Regierung, dessen Vater
Sanherib in Ninive residiert hatte.

Aus der Zeit Asarhaddons stammt auch [1114] 83-1-18, 65, ein
Bericht, der, wie sich zeigen wird, von den Bewohnern einer Stadt
des Meerlandes an den König gesandt wurde und Versuche zum
Sturze des von Asarhaddon eingesetzten Na'id-Marduk meldet.
Na'id-Marduk, ein Sohn Marduk-apal-iddin's hatte sich nach der
Flucht seines Bruders Nabū-zēr-kitti-lišir zum assyrischen König
begeben und sich unterworfen. Die assyrischen Annalen⁴ berichten,
dass Asarhaddon ihm die Herrschaft seines Bruders übergeben und
dass Na'id-Marduk hinfert regelmässig Tribut gezahlt habe. Etwas
mehr erfahren wir aus einem Brieftexte, nämlich [576] K. 1009. Da
dieser Bericht mit [1114] im engen Zusammenhange steht und die
Erkenntnis dieses Zusammenhanges uns sowohl einige Lesungen im
letzteren Texte berichtigen hilft, wie überhaupt sein Verständnis
erleichtert, sei er zunächst in Umschrift und Uebersetzung⁵ mitgeteilt:
¹a-na šarri [be-li-i-ni ardāni-ka.....]^{2 amēl}ši-bu-tu
[u šihrūtu lu-u šulmu ^{mu}] ³a-na šarri be-li-[i-ni].....
⁴¹¹asur ¹¹šamaš ù[...ana šarri] ⁵be-li-i-ni li[k-ru-bu]....
⁶ša kip-pat ir-bit-ti [ana šarri be-li-i-ni] ⁷lid-din-nu
I šu II šu ^{amēl}mār-šipri [^{mes}]⁸ša ^mtù-um-man ahi-šu ša
šar ^{mā}tēlamti ^{9amēl}nagiru u ^mzi-ne-e-ni ¹⁰a-na pa-ni-ni

⁴ Prism A+C. Kol. II, 32 ff. (K.B. II, 128), Prism B. Kol. II (K.B. II, 142 f.).

Obv. 7 ff. "Beamtentum" 69 besprochen.

it-tal-ku-ni ¹¹um-ma al-ka-nim-ma ^{12m} nabū-ušallim^{im}
mār-be-li-ku-nu ¹³hi-iš-na-a-ma i-na pa-ni-ku-nu ¹⁴lil-lik
a-ni-ni ul ni-man-gur ¹⁵um-ma ^m na'id-marduk be-li-a-
ni ¹⁶ba-liṭ ù ^{amēl} ardāni ša šar māt assur ^{ki} ¹⁷a-ni-ni ki-i
ru-ub-bu-šu ¹⁸i-na māti ši-ba-tu-nu ¹⁹a-na pa-ni šar māt
assur ^{ki} ²⁰šu-pur-ra-šu-ma ha-du-u ²¹šarru lu-rab-bi-iš
i-na bid ²²šu-tu-u-nu tal-tap-ra-niš-šu rv. ¹a-ni-ni ul-ni-
hi-di-e-ma ²i-na muh-hi-i-ni ul i-rab-bi ³i-na ši-bit qāte
a-na pa-an ⁴šar māt assur ^{ki} ni-sap-par-šu a-du-u ⁵ki-i
i-bu-ku-niš-šu ^{amēl} tar-gi-ma-[t]a ^{6amēl} na-hal ^{amēl} du
(KIN)-ta-a-a ù ^{amēl} ba-[na(!)]-nu⁷ A. SUM mat-i-ni ki
iš-šu-u⁸ it-ta-nu-niš-šu ù a-du-u ^{amēl} māre-šipri ^{meš}-šu
⁹a-na pa-ni ^{amēl} ši-bu-tu ša māt tam-tim ¹⁰it-tal-ku-nu
um-ma a-na pa-ni-ia ¹¹e-la-nim-ma idē ^{meš}a-na māt tam-
tim ¹²ri-i-da ù ki-i a-na pa-ni-ia ¹³la-ta-te-la-a-nu ki-ba-a
¹⁴la-ta-gab-ba-a al-la-kam-ma ¹⁵māta-ku-nu u bītāte ^{meš}
ku-nu a-hi-ip-pu ¹⁶u min-di-e-ma ta-gab-ba-a ¹⁷um-ma
la-pa-an šar māt assur ^{ki} ¹⁸pal-ha-a-nu a-na-ku pu-lu[h?-
tū] ¹⁹šar māt assur ^{ki} na-ša-a i[l...] ²⁰ki-i ni-iš.....
²¹nu-ul-te..... ²²i-na..... Uebersetzung obv. 6 ff.
"1, 2 mal sind die Boten von Tu-um-man, dem Bruder des
Königs von Elam, der Palastvogt und Zineni zu uns gekommen:
wohlan Nabū-ušallim, den Sohn eures Königs, nehmt auf, zu
euch möge er kommen, wir aber weigern uns: "Na'id-Marduk unser
Herr lebt (ja noch) und Knechte des Königs von Assyrien sind wir.
Wenn ihr ihn zum Herrn im Lande zu machen wünscht, schickt ihn
zum Könige von Assyrien (wenn er) willens ist, möge der König
ihn zum Herrn machen, dessetwegen (?) sollt ihr ihn senden. rv.
Wir versündigen uns nicht, über uns soll er nicht Herr sein." Gefan-
gen schickten wir ihn zum König von Assyrien und wie sie ihn weg-
führten, haben die Targimat[a],⁶ die Nahal Du(Kin)-taai⁷ und die
Ba[na]nu,⁸ nachdem sie ein-⁹ unseres Landes genommen, ihm gegeben.
Und jetzt schickt er seine Boten zu den Aeltesten des Meerlandes:

⁶ Ergänzung nach [1114], obv. 11, wo aber die Ausgabe tar-gi-ba(!)-ta liest.

⁷ Ergänzung nach [1114], obv. 12. ⁸ Ibid., obv. 13.

⁹ A. SUM vermag ich nicht zu erklären (lies A. ŠAG?), aus [1114], obv. 13 f. ersieht man, dass die genannten Stämme Gebiet des Meerlandes an sich gerissen und es dem Nabū-ušallim gegeben haben.

zieht zu mir herauf und steigt dann zur Unterstützung (?) ins Meerland herab. Wenn ihr aber nicht zu mir heraufzieht, eine Antwort nicht gebt, so werde ich euer Land und euere Häuser zerschmeissen und wenn ihr sagt "vor dem Könige von Assyrien fürchten wir uns," ich die Furcht vor dem König von Assyrien. . . . Die Situation scheint folgende zu sein: Na'id-Marduk ist von Asarhaddon eingesetzt, die Anhänger des vertriebenen Nabū-zēr-kitti-līšir um einen Sohn Marduk-apal-iddin's, namens Nabū-ušallim (vgl. KB II, 256, 61ff.?) geschart, versuchen mit elamitischer Hilfe diesen zum Herrscher im Meerlande zu machen. Boten vom elamitischen Hofe gehen ins Meerland und suchen die Aeltesten zu bewegen Nabū-ušallim aufzunehmen, indem sie ihnen vorspiegeln, dass Na'id-Marduk tot sei (das erfahren wir aus dem neuen Texte). Na'id-Marduk ist also ausser Landes. Die Aeltesten erklären, dass es dem assyrischen Könige zustehe einen Herrscher über das Meerland einzusetzen und weisen Nabū-ušallim an den assyrischen Hof. Nabū-ušallim, der unter starker Bedeckung vom Meerland nach Assyrien geschickt wird, gelingt es mit Unterstützung der Nahal, Targimata und anderer Stämme sich in der Nähe des Meerlandes festzusetzen und versucht nun mit Drohungen das Meerland zum Anschluss zu bewegen.

Dieselben eben geschilderten Vorgänge behandelt nun etwas ausführlicher der Bericht [1114], der eben wegen dieser sachlichen Uebereinstimmung von denselben Leuten herrühren wird. Rv. ergibt, dass Nabū-ušallim die tatkräftigste Unterstützung von Elam her erhält und dass ein Zug des elamitischen Königs gegen das Meerland droht. In Assyrien scheint man sich dagegen sehr untätig verhalten zu haben, da die Schreiber sich beklagen, dass sie nutzlos 2, 3 mal Bericht an den Hof geschickt hätten, einer dieser vergeblichen Briefe wird eben [576] gewesen sein. Die Verhältnisse im Meerland waren also nach der Einsetzung Na'id-Marduks keineswegs konsolidiert, wie man nach der etwas groszsprecherischen Phrase in den Annalen vermuten könnte. Anbei folgt die Umschrift des Briefes, der leider etwas verstümmelt und in einigen Einzelheiten unklar ist. Obv. 10 ff.: ^m na-bū-u-šal-lim māru-šu ša ^m marduk-apal-iddin ¹¹ ki-i i-bu-ku(!)-ni i-na ^{a mēl} tar-gi-ba(?) -a-ta ¹² ul-te-ši-bu ^{māt} na-hal ^{a mēl} [d]u(KIN)-ta-a-a ¹³ ū ^{a mēl} ba-na-nu mi-šir ša ^m na-id-¹¹ marduk id-dan-nu-niš-šu ù TIR-ma ^{a mēl}

mār-šipri-¹⁵ša šar māt elamti a-na pa-ni-ni it-tal-ku
¹⁶um-ma mārē^{meš} . . šu-nu^{amēl} gab-li šu-nu? ¹⁷m nabū-ú-
 šal-lim be-li-ku-nu ¹⁹i-na māti li-ir-[b]i ù min-di-e-ma
²⁰ta-gab-ba-a um-ma^m na-id-¹¹ marduk ²¹a-na-ku ʔe-e-mu
 ša^m na-id-¹¹ marduk ²²al-la nu ki (?) nu? har-za-ak^{23m}
 na-id-¹¹ marduk mi-i-tu ²⁴i-na hu (?) di (?) ? u i-na ²⁵la
 ina (?) ? su ?^m nabū-ú-šal-lim ²⁶um-ma . . ma a-na muh-
 hi-ku nu ²⁷u-rab(?) -bi rv. ¹šābē^{meš} -ia at-tu-nu al-la
 a-ga-a ²šar māt assur^{ki} a-na muh-hi-ku-nu ul šal-laʔ
³ki-i ša^m nabū-u-šal-lim a-na^{amēl} tar-gi-ba-a-ta ⁴ik-šu-
 du išten^{en} lib-bu-ú šābē^{meš} -i-ni ša ka-a-du i-na^{amēl}
 na-hal i-n[a-a]ʔ(?) -za-ru ⁶ki-i iṣ-ba-tu a-na šar māt
 elamti ⁷il-ta-par šar māt elamti it-ti-šu ⁸id-da-bu-ub ù
 a-na pa-ni-ni il-tap-raš-šu ⁹um-ma a-lik-ma a-na māt
 tam-tim ki-bi ¹⁰um-ma di-in(?) -gu-nu ša šar māt assur^{ki}
 ia-a-nu ¹¹šābē^{meš} -ia at-tu-nu . . ú^{amēl} mār-šipri ¹²a-na
 pa-an šarri be-li-ia [ni-i]l (?) -tap-ra ¹³mimma ša šar māt
 elamti a-na pa-ni-ni iṣ-pu-raš-šu a-na šarri be-li-i-ni
 liq-bi ¹⁵ù min-di-e-ma māt elamtu ¹⁶a-na muh-hi-ni
 il-la-ku-ni^{amēl} kal-da-a nu ¹⁷šarru ʔe-e-mu liš-kun ma¹⁰-a
 na¹⁰-a-a-li-nu ¹⁸ . . . a-dan-niš-ma ša-nam-ma ¹⁹ . . a-ma
 muh-hi-nu la i-šim-mi ²⁰[ardāni]^{meš} ša šarri ni-i-ni^{amēl}
 mār-šipri šar māt elamti ²¹iṣ-pu-ra-an-na-ši a-du-ú a-na
 šarri šup-ra ²²ni-il-tap-raš-šu ša pi-i-šu šarru li-iš-mi
²³ù am-me-ni I šu II šu a-na šarri be-li-i-ni ²⁴ni-iš-pur-
 ram-[ma] . . us ši-pir-ti-ku-[nu] ²⁵an-ni-te a-na . . .” Als
 sie Nabū-ušallim, Sohn von Marduk-apal-iddin hinwegführten,¹¹
 haben sie ihn unter den Targib(m)ata¹² wohnen lassen, Nahal, die
 Du(kin)tai und die Bananu haben ihm Gebiet von Na'id-Marduk
 gegeben und . . . der Bote des Königs von Elam ist zu uns gekommen
 . . . Söhne . . . sie? . . . Nabū-ušallim, euer Herr, möge ins Land
 einziehen und wenn ihr sagt: (Aber) “Na'id-Marduk.” Ich habe
 Bericht über Na'id-Marduk . . . in Erfahrung gebracht. Na'id-
 Marduk ist tot in . . . und in . . . ?? Nabū-ušallim:—über euch

¹⁰ So richtig verbunden?¹¹ Statt H.'s i-bu-šu-ni nach [576], rv. 5.¹² Vgl. oben zu [576] rv. 5.

soll(?) er zum Herrn machen¹³ rv. meine Leute seid ihr mehr als (die) dieses (Mannes?) der König von Assyrien soll über euch nicht Herrscher sein(?). Als Nabū-ušallim die Targib(m)ata erreichte und er einen unserer Leute, welcher . . . ¹⁴ bei den Nahal bewacht, festgenommen hatte, schickte er ihn zum König von Elam; der König von Elam sprach mit ihm und schickte ihn zu uns: geh und sprich zum Meerland, euere . . . ¹⁵ des Königs von Assyrien ist nicht vorhanden, meine Leute seid ihr, den Boten haben wir zum König, unserem Herrn, geschickt, was immer der König von Elam zu uns geschickt hat, möge er dem Könige, unserem Herrn, mitteilen und wenn der König von Elam gegen uns zieht, möge der König den Kaldanu Befehl geben . . . gar sehr ein anderer soll auf uns nicht hören, [Knechte] des Königs, unseres Herrn, sind wir, den Boten, welchen der König von Elam zu uns geschickt hat, schickt zum König. Wir haben ihn geschickt, seine Rede möge der König hören und warum haben wir 1, 2 mal zum König, unserem Herrn, geschickt . . . diese euere(?) Briefe. . . ."

Wie die Dinge sich weiter entwickelt haben, kann man ungefähr aus den Resten des Briefes [1131], 83-1-18, 124 ersehen. Danach hat Nabū-ušallim seine Drohung wahr gemacht und ist mit einem elamitischen Hilfsheer gegen das Meerland gezogen. obv. 3 ff.: ³te-e-mu ša bīt-^m ia-[a-ki-ni] ⁴ki-[i aš]-mu-ú a-na šarri be-li-ia [al-tap-ra] ⁵mabū-u-šal-lim māru-šu ša ^m ¹¹ marduk-apal-iddina^{na} ù e-mu-qu ša ^{māt} elamti it-ti-šu . . . [a]-na bīt-^m ia-a-ki-ni i-te-bi-ru-ni la-pa-ni . . . na ^{a1} e-pa-du ina ^{a1} ^m du-um-mu-qu . . . a-ti ina ^{a1} ba-na-na ina bīt ^m šu-la-a . . . "wie ich Bericht von Bit-Jakin hörte, habe ich zum König, meinem Herrn, geschickt. Nabū-ušallim der Sohn von Marduk-apal-iddin und das elamitische Heer mit ihm sind nach Bit-Jakin hinüberggegangen vor . . . Epadu, in der Stadt Dummuqu's . . . in Banana, in Bit-Šula. . . ."

Aus der Kronprinzenzeit Asurbanipals stammen zwei Schreiben von ihm an seinen königlichen Vater, nämlich [1001] (verstümmelt)

¹³ H. u - š a r (LUGAL) - b i .

¹⁴ Eine Form von našāru wird trotz der bei H. gegebenen Spuren zu ergänzen sein nach [280], obv. 6, ka-a-du uš-ra.

¹⁵ Falls die angenommene Lesung richtig ist, darf man vielleicht als Uebersetzung vermuten: "ein Recht über euch (?) von Seiten des Königs von Assyrien ist nicht vorhanden, meine Untertanen seid ihr."

und [1026] (v. Winckler ediert). Die übrigen Berichte, die sicher seiner Regierung zuzuteilen sind, beziehen sich auf die Verhältnisse in Babylonien und in Elam. Details aus dem Kampfe zwischen Asurbanipal und seinem Bruder Šamaš-šum-ukīn, sind nur wenige bekannt, jeder Beitrag, der diese Vorgänge einigermaßen aufzuhellen hilft, ist daher von Bedeutung. Nicht unwichtig war in dieser Hinsicht der Text [754], aus dem zu ersehen war, dass Šamaš-šum-ukīn durch Aufwiegler die Gurasimmu zum Abfall gebracht, die jetzt Sin-tabni-ušur in Ur bedrohten. Dieser wendet sich an Kudurru, Statthalter von Uruk, um Hilfe, der mit einem Aufgebot von Urukäern unterstützt durch Apla von Arapha dem Sin-tabni-ušur zu Hilfe zieht. Ein neuer Bericht [1106], 82–5–22, 131, dessen Absender unbekannt, lässt nun ersehen, dass Šamaš-šum-ukīn zum Angriff gegen Kudurru und Aplai schreitet. Man könnte sich bewogen fühlen diese beiden Berichte zu kombinieren und anzunehmen, dass Šamaš-šum-ukīn, um diese Verstärkung der Truppen Sin-tabni-ušur's durch Kudurru zu verhindern, nun gegen Letzteren loszieht. rv. 8 ff.: a-na^m apla-a^{amēl} bēl(sic!)-pahāti ù a-na^m kudurru^{9amēl} uruk^{ki} a-a al-tap-ra um-ma e-mu-qa ša šar babilī^{ki} 10a-na muh-hi-ku-nu il-la-ku ra-man-gu-nu uš-ra 11II šu III šu^{amēl} mār-šipri-ia a-na^{amēl} rabūti^{meš} al-tap-ra 12a^{amēl} pa-ru-šu. "Zu Apla,¹⁶ dem Statthalter und zu Kudurru, dem Urukäer, habe ich gesandt: die Truppenmacht des Königs von Babylon zieht gegen euch, schützt euch, 2, 3 mal sandte ich meinen Boten zu den Grossen, ein Lügner (ist er)." Die folgenden Zeilen, die sich auf Ereignisse im Meerlande beziehen seien hier auch wiedergegeben: rv. 12 ff.: ù šarru bēli-a lu i-di 13ul-tu māt-tam-tim a-na^m nabū-kudurri-ušur ia 17šarru id-di-nu 14[mⁱ 11b]el-ib-ni apal ša^m nabū-kudurri-ušur pa-ni-šu ul ma-hir 15ina lib-bi i-zi-ir-an-na-ši a-mat a-bi-'-il-ti 16[i-gab]-bi šarru ana pi-i pi-i-šu la 18ib-ba-kan-ni. "und der König, mein Herr, weiss wohl, seitdem der König das Meerland an Nabū-kudurri-ušur-gegeben hat, gefällt (dies) dem Bēl-ibni,

¹⁶ Apla-a wird auch [1124], obv. 6 erwähnt, einem verstümmelten Brief, der anscheinend aus Uruk stammt. (vgl. 1f.: . . . il na-na-a ana balāṭ napāste sarri bēli-ia u-ṣal-lu).

¹⁷ Vielleicht hat der Schreiber vor ia etwas ausgelassen.

¹⁸ Oder als ein Wort zu fassen und pl. von pū?

Sohn von Nabū-kudurri-ušur nicht, er hasst uns deswegen, schmähende Worte spricht er, der König achte auf den Ausspruch seines Mundes nicht."

Ueber die Kämpfe Asurbanipals mit Elam erfahren wir aus den beiden letzten Bänden des Harper'schen Briefcorpus nicht allzuviel. Reste von Briefen Asurbanipals an elamitische Könige sind [1022] (von Winckler ediert) [1040] an Tammariš und [1151] an Indabigas gerichtet. Der an Indabigas adressierte Brief ist nahezu gänzlich verstümmelt und nur wegen seiner Datierung Eponymat des Ahu-li-i bemerkenswert. Auch Berichte anderer Personen, die wie [1127] Ummanigas oder wie [1116] und [1130] Tammariš erwähnen, ergeben fast nichts für die elamitische Geschichte. Der Erwähnung des Elamiternamens wegen sei auch [1008] K. 4271 umschrieben, ein Bericht der sich keiner bestimmten Regierung zuschreiben lässt

¹ lu šulmu mu ² sulmu mu a-na ³ amēl ma-ta-a-a ⁴ ù a-ni-e-nu ⁵ libbu ša šarri bēli ⁶ ša māt elam-a-a ⁷ ina muh m lu-du-u ⁸ amēl šābē meš ša māt e-lam-a-a ša . . . ⁹ . . . šu ma-a pa-ni-šu te (?) ma (?) ¹⁰ ša ina la pa . . . ša . . . ¹¹ . . . du (?) šu nu?? . . . ¹² . . . ba-ri māt (?) bīt amēl . . . ¹³ . . . a-te ša māt e-lam-a-a . . . rv. ¹ šu-nu i-du-u-ku . . . ² . . . hu a-na māt ú-e-te t[u] ³ . . . an-ni ina muh-hi-šu-nu a-sa-ap-ra ⁴ [i]t-tar-du-u-ni a-di-e-is-si-e-šu ⁵ i-ša-ak-nu e-tar-bu ia-mut-tu ⁶ in alib ali-šu kam-mu-su II al-še-meš ⁷ ištu qa-an-ni-šu-nu amēl bēl-nakār meš ša a-na amēl rab-alāni meš ni i-du-ku ¹⁰ u-ni ⁹ la ú-ri-du-u-ni ahhē meš-šu-nu . . ¹⁰ nabū-emur-an-ni ik-ṭi-bi u . . ¹¹ nu-še-ra-da-šu-nu ina pa-ni . . ¹² nu-bal-la-šu-nu ma-a-a . . . ¹³ . . nu ki-ma it . . . Uebersetz. rv. 3ff. ". . . ihretwegen schickte ich, sie zogen herab, Eide legten sie mit ihnen ab, giengen heim, ein jeder befindet sich in seiner Stadt. 2 Dörfer aus ihrem Gebiete, die Feinde, welche zu den Stadtvorstehern gegangen (?), sind nicht herabgezogen, ihre Brüder . . . Nabū-emuranni sprach . . . wir führen herab . . . wir bringen. . . ."

Die Stellen in den Briefen, wo sich der Aramäername erwähnt findet, hat Schiffer "Aramäer" 179 f. angeführt. Hinzu kommt der

¹⁰ So bietet die Ausgabe und auch das Original, wie ich mich überzeugen konnte. Man erwartet aber vielmehr i-du-lu (!) -u-ni, da dāku nicht mit ana konstruiert wird.

Text [1115], 83–1–18, 68. Die aramäische Sprache²⁰ errang sich im Zweistromlande seit Beginn des neuassyrischen Reiches einen immer mehr wachsenden Einfluss und eine immer grössere Verbreitung. Aus unserem Berichte erfahren wir von einem Vorsteher des Aramäerlandes. Wer die in obv. 11 genannten Könige sind, ist unklar. Vielleicht sind die von Assyrien und Elam gemeint, obv. 6 ff.: ša šarru iš-pu-ra-na-ši-an-ni ⁷ma-a ša-'-al-šu ni-is-sa-al-šu ⁸ma-a ^{amēl} (!) šip-ri ša ^mpa-'-e ^{9amēl} qi-e-pi ša ^{māt} a-ra-mu ¹⁰a-na nippur ^ki it-tal-ka ¹¹ma-a šarrāni is-sa-hi-iš is-sal-mu ¹²ma-a at-tu-nu a-ta-a hu-ub-t[u] tah-bu-ta (Rest des obv. u. rv. verstümmelt). "In Betreff, dass der König uns geschrieben "fragt ihn" so haben wir gefragt. Der Bote von Pa'e, dem Vorsteher des Aramäerlandes, ist nach Nippur gekommen sagend, die Könige haben sich miteinander ausgesöhnt, warum habt ihr Beute geraubt. . . ."

In gewissen politischen Vorgängen, die sich noch nicht einer bestimmten Regierung zuschreiben lassen, wird auch die Klage [992], K. 1281 ihren Grund haben. Der Bericht enthält eine bittere Beschwerde über die Behinderung des assyrischen Handelsverkehrs und das Abschneiden der Zufuhr. Aus welcher Gegend des Reiches der Brief stammt, dafür giebt vielleicht die Erwähnung von Šimirra in obv. 25 einen Anhalt, obv. 14 ff.: šarru bēli ú-du ¹⁵ana ik-ki lu-u la u-ra-am-mu ¹⁶elippē ¹⁷ina ka-a-ru ša šarri beli-ia la e-la-a-ni-u ¹⁸ka-a-ru gab-bi a-na pa-ni-šu us-sah-har ¹⁹ša a-na pa-ni-šu il-la-kan-ni ²⁰harrān ina šēpa-šu iš-šak-kan ²¹ša a-na ka-a-ru ša ^{māt} assur ^ki il-la-ni ²²i-du-ak ²³elippa-šu ú-pa-ši ²⁴ma (?) -a ištū lib-bi

²⁰ Als Beweis, dass das Aramäische in der zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts bereits eine längst bekannte Schriftsprache war, wird man [872] gegen Schiffer, *Aramäer a. a. O.* nicht heranziehen dürfen. Die betreffende Stelle lautet obv. 8 ff.: Kab-ti-ia ^{mēl} a-ba ardu ša ^mAsur-da-in-apli mār šul-ma-nu-ašaridi ¹⁰ša e-gir-tū ar-me-tū id-din-an-ni a-na šarri beli-ia ad-din-u-ni i-qab-bi-a rv. ma-a ina muh bēl-hi-i-ṭ-ṭi ša a-na šarri bēli-ia aq-bu-u-ni ma-a mār-šu ina lib ekal e-rab u-ša. Hierzu bemerkt Schiffer, a. a. O. 180 "es handelt sich um die Wiederherstellung des baufällig gewordenen Palastes Asurdaninapals, des Sohnes Salmanassars II." Nun hat schon Behrens 59, wie mir scheint mit Recht, die Gleichsetzung dieses Asurdainapals (sic! nicht Asur-da-nin-apli wie Schiffer umschreibt) mit dem Sohne Salmanassars II. bezweifelt und auch hervorgehoben, dass augenscheinlich keiner der Harperbriefe über Sargons Zeit zurückreicht. Was Schiffers Bemerkung über die Baufälligkeit des Palastes betrifft, so beruht sie bloss auf der Verlesung des in den Briefen häufigen Wortes bēl hi ṭ ṭi "Sünder," "Verbrecher" zu en hi ṭ ṭi, das S. kühn mit an h ū t u kombiniert hat.

²¹ Zu diesem Verbum vgl. [639], rv. 6, [633], 17. Die *Assyrisches Beamtentum*, 25^a aufgestellte Bedeutung "wegnehmen" scheint sich zu bewähren.

ēkalli is-sa-par-u-ni ²³:...ma-a id-da-ba-kan-ni e-pu-uš-ma ²⁴... u mimma a-di i-gab-bu-niš-š[u?] ²⁵ina ^{a1} ši-mir-a-a šu-ú ²⁶šu-ú a-na ^{māt} assur ^{kil}-lak. "Der König, mein Herr, weiss, dem Unglück²² möge er mich ja nicht preisgeben, die Schiffe kommen zum Hafen des Königs, meines Herrn, nicht heran, den ganzen Hafen bringt er auf seine Seite. Wer zu ihm kommt, dem erleichtert er den Weg, wer zum assyr. Hafen herankommt, den tötet er, sein Schiff nimmt er weg. Vom Hofe aus haben sie geschrieben er führt weg, tat es und sprechen sie mit ihm? Bei den Šimīrāern ist er, er geht nach Assyrien."²³ Interessant sind auch die Schlussabsätze des Briefes rv. 6 ff.: šarru bēli lu u-du ⁷ma-du-ti ina ^{amēl} man-za-za pa-ni ša šarri bēli-ia ⁸ša kaspu a-na bīt an-ni-i id-din-u-u-ni ⁹šu-nu itti (TA) ^{amēl} dam-qar ^{meš} ¹⁰i-na bat-ta-ta-a-a u-pal-lah-u-ni ¹¹a-na-ku a-na muh šarri bēli-ia tak-ku-lak ¹²I siqlu $\frac{1}{2}$ siqlu a-na me-me-ni la ad-dan ¹³a-na šarri beli-ia ad-dan šarru be-li lu-ú ú (?) -du (?) ¹⁴kal-bi me-e-ti a-na-ku ¹⁵i-na li-mu mu-ta-ni šarru bēli ub-tal-[ta]-ni ¹⁷šarru ila-a-a u ša . . . ru (?) -ri. "Der König, mein Herr, weiss wohl viele giebt es unter den Würdenträgern des Königs, meines Herrn, die Geld diesem Hause (oder vielmehr "dafür" ana bid an-ni-i?) gegeben haben. Sie fürchten sich mit den Kaufleuten der Reihe nach (?).²⁴ Ich vertraue auf den König, meinen Herrn. (Selbst) 1 Scheckel, $\frac{1}{2}$ Scheckel gebe ich nicht irgendeinem, dem Könige, meinem Herrn gebe ich sie. Der König, mein Herr, weiss wohl, ein toter Hund bin ich, aus tausendfachem Tode hat der König, mein Herr, mich zum Leben erweckt. Der König ist meine Gottheit und. . . ."

Wenden wir uns zu den Briefen kultischen Inhalts, so sind, seit Behrens diese Kategorie Briefe zum erstenmal zusammenfassend behandelte, eine ganze Anzahl neuer Texte bekannt geworden. So bezieht sich z. B. gleich der erste Brief des X. Bandes des Harper'schen Briefcorpus sicher auf religiöse Zeremonien. Dieser [975] K. 832a, von Bezold Cat. 176 versehentlich als "concerning military

²² Zu i k k u vgl. [46], rv. 16 u. Behrens 96.

²³ Oder der eine ist bei den Šimīrāern der andre geht. (?)

²⁴ D. h. wohl insgesamt zu bat-ta-ta-a-a, nacheinander (?) vgl. [223], 8 rv. 8; 18 vgl. Behrens 14, Ylvisaker 55.

affairs" bezeichnet, scheint von Opferschau zu berichten, wie das kalītu šumēltu in obv. 9, rv. 11 vermuten lässt. Die Transkription des arg verstümmelten Textes lautet obv. 7 ff.: ?-da (?) -ri-ú ša (?) ūmu^{mu} XIII kam^{ka} šina pa-an^{an} ¹¹nabū ša-kin-u-niⁿⁱ ⁹šir kalītu šumēltu amēl(?) barū (?) ša(?)... ¹⁰šarru be-li ša (?) amēl (?) meš (?) ... ¹¹ši-i-ti-ni.... (4 verstümmelte Zeilen) rv. ¹.... lid-di-nu ²... šarri bēli-ia ³l[u] šarru be-lī la..ma-a a-na mi-i-ni ⁵šum (?) ... ardāni(?) meš-ni ⁶... is-si-ia ⁷ta (?) ⁸i..di-(?) du (?) ... ūme^{me} ⁹la ki (?) ? ma-a a-ta-a ¹⁰ina ēkalli la iš-pur ¹¹ú-ma-a ¹²šir kalītu šumēltu ¹³ša šihrat-u-ni ak-ta-nak ¹⁴a-na šarri bēli-ia us-si-bi-la ¹⁵amēl um-ma-a-ni li-mu-ru ¹⁶ur-ki-ti šarru be-lī ¹⁷i-ša-am-me ma-a a-ta-a ¹⁸la iš-pu-ra a-na hi-di-ia ¹⁹i-ša-kan. Uebersetz. rv. 9 ff.: "Warum hat er nicht aus dem Palaste geschickt. Jetzt habe ich die linke Niere, welche klein²⁵ ist, verpackt und dem Könige, meinem Herrn, bringen lassen. Die Ummanupriester mögen sie ansehen. Denn wenn später der König, mein Herr, hört: 'warum hat er nicht geschickt,' wird er es mir zur Sünde anrechnen."

Der nächste Brief [976] K. 940 ersucht den König um Unterstützung beim Kult, wahrscheinlich bei Opfern. Ob die Absender die in obv. 21 f. genannten Personen, denen ein Befehl gegeben werden soll, sind, wie Harper nach der Ueberschrift anzunehmen scheint, oder ob sie, was mir wahrscheinlicher dünkt, im Texte selbst nicht genannt werden und die eben erwähnten Leute nur zur Hilfeleistung beanspruchen, ist schwer zu unterscheiden. ¹a-na^m dā-ri-šarru a-na^m ²a-na^m arad-¹¹ea a-na^m ki-šir-assur a-n[a].. ³šarru be-li ṭe-e-mu liš-ku[n]... ⁴ni-il-lik idē-šu-nu ina muh dul-li l[iš-ku-nu] ⁵a-di na-qid ¹⁰niqē meš ša ¹¹a... ⁶la i-kaš-ša-du mimma... ⁷šarru be-li ú-da ki-ma idē-šu-nu... ⁸ūmu^{mu} išten^{en} nišē ú-ta... rv. ¹? me nim? ú-ma šu-u ša ana gur... ²... ba(?) ni? ūmu^{mu} ha-an-ni-[u] ³.i ša ? hi-u-ni?... ⁴ki-ma mi-i-nu ni-it-t[a-pa-aš?] ⁵pa-ni ša dul-li ni-[da-gal...] ⁶ni-sap-[ra...]. Die Er-

²⁵ D. h. offenbar kleiner als die rechte, wahrscheinlich ein besonders bedeutsames Omen. Wenn die Eingewideschau auch hauptsächlich eine Leberschau war, so wurde trotzdem auch das Aussehen anderer Eingeweideteile beobachtet. Beobachtung der Nierenbeschaffenheit auch [634], 8 f.

gänzung obv. 4 nach den noch sichtbaren Spuren von liš. Zu pān dagālu, "warten" vgl. [311] obv. 7, [698] obv. 7, [894] rv. 2 und Behrens 36².

Einer der interessantesten Briefe des ganzen Bandes ist [977] K. 350, der anbei in Transkription mit einem Uebersetzungsversuch gegeben ist. Der Name des Absenders ist leider nicht erhalten; nach dem Inhalte des Briefes zu schliessen, der von Beschwörungen (kispu BUR-RU-DA-MEŠ und NAM-BUR-BI) erzählt, die zu verschiedenen Monaten vorgenommen wurden, kommt hier einer der bekannten Priester wie Adad-šum-ušur, Akkullānu, Ištar-šum-ereš vor allen in Betracht. Am nächsten steht der Brief wegen der Erwähnung von Asur-mukīn-palē-ia, einem Sohne Asarhaddons, dem Briefe [540], wo aber ebenfalls der Absender nicht bekannt ist. Die Beschwörungen beziehen sich auf die Abwehr von "Krankheit, Seuche, Pest vom Hause eines Menschen und vom Palaste" wurden also anscheinend für Asur-mukīn-palē-ia vorgenommen, dessen Gesundheitszustand kein sehr guter war. Bei den im rv. des Briefes aufgezählten Weihgaben ist die Bevorzugung der Siebenzahl bemerkenswert, je 7 Körner aus Gold, Silber, etc., nur bei den Halmen ist die der Istar heilige Zahl 15 bevorzugt. Obv. ¹[a-na š]arr[i bēli-ia] ²ardu-ka ³¹¹nabū un ¹¹marduk a-na šarri bēli-ia ⁴a-dan-niš a-dan-niš lik-ru-bu ⁵šulmu^{mu} a-dan-niš a-dan-niš ⁶a-na ^m asur-mu-kīn-palē-ia ⁷šulmu^{mu} a-dan-niš a-dan-niš ⁸a-na ^m Asur-šar-a-ni . . bi ⁹lib-bi ša šarri bēli-i[a lū ṭāb] ¹⁰[ina muh] ni-pi-ši ša š[arru bēli] ¹¹iš-pur-an-na-ši ni-? ¹²šib-ṭu mu-ta-nu ana ēkal[li] ¹³ina ^{arah} kislimu ni-ta-pa-aš ¹⁴muṣu di-'-u ana bīt amēli la ṭehi-e ¹⁵ù kispu BUR-RU-DA ^{MEŠ} ¹⁶ma-'-a-ú-du-tu ni-ta-pa-aš ¹⁷ina ^{arah} šabāṭu niš qāte KAN²⁶-meš ¹⁸NAM-BUR-BI limutti kispi rv. ¹⁹u ša di-'-u šib-ṭu ni-ta-pa-aš ²⁰ni-pi-ši ša ina ^{arah} Addari ūmu I ^{kan} ni-ib-tar-za ²¹ša ṣalam mārat ¹¹a-nim ṣalam ¹¹nam-tar ⁴ṣalam ¹¹la-ta-rak ṣalam mu-ú-tu ⁵ṣalam pu-u-hi amēli ša ṭīṭi ṣalam pu-u-hi amēli ⁶ša ṭīṭ palge ¹⁸kīri ṣalam pu-u-hi amēli ⁷ša VII an qu meš mārat

²⁶ Vgl. [23], obv. 5, rv. 10, IV. R. 53, 29c, 43d und dazu Behrens 94. Auf eine Zahl, wie Behrens wegen [23] vermutet, kann sich KAN nicht beziehen.

i-lu ⁸VII še XV šul-pu kaspi ⁹ša šul? . . šu ina
 pān ¹¹gu-la ¹¹be-lit šēri. ¹⁰VII še kaspi VII (?) še hurāši
¹¹VII še eri VII še anāki ¹¹VII še ki-e ali a-na
 AD.SAL nāri ¹². bi-nu VII haṭṭu ¹³gišimmari ¹³[VII
 karpāt la]-ha-an kar[āni (!)] VII karpāt la-ha-an B I meš
¹⁴VII karpāt la] ⁽¹⁾-ha-an šizbi VII karpāt la-ha-an dišpi (!)
¹⁵. bu ni-ta-pa-aš ¹⁶. [ni]-pi-ši u-di-ni ¹⁷. a-ki dul-
 l[i . . .] ¹⁸. . . a-na e-pa-še . . . ¹⁹. . . amēl ba[rū? . . .] ²⁰. . .
 [ni]-pi-ši. " [an den K]öni[g, meinen Herrn,] dein Diener. . . .
 Nabū und Marduk mögen den König, meinen Herrn, gar sehr, gar
 sehr segnen. Ausserordentlich gut steht es mit Asur-mukīn-palē-ia
 ausserordentlich gut steht es mit Asur-šar-a-ni . . bi²⁷ das Herz des
 Königs, mei[nes] Herrn, [sei fröhlich].²⁸ In Betreff der Zeremonien,
 deretwegen der K[önig, mein Herr] uns geschrieben. "Seuche,
 Sterben dem Palaste²⁹" haben wir im Monat Kislev verrichtet.
 "Krankheit, Pest dem Hause eines Menschen nicht zu
 nahen"³⁰ und zahlreiche "Zauberlösungen" haben wir verrichtet.
 Im Monate Šabāt haben wir Handerhebungen, lösende Beschwör-
 ungen gegen das Böse der Zauberei und gegen Pest, Seuche verrichtet,
 die Zeremonien, die am 1. Addar stattfinden, haben wir bestimmt.
 Ein Bild der Tochter Anu's, ein Bild Namtars, ein Bild Lataraks,
 ein Bild des Todes,³¹ ein Menschenabbild aus Erde, ein Menschenab-
 bild aus Gartenkanalerde, ein Menschenabbild aus VII AN-
 QU der Gottestochter(?) VII Körner³² XV Halme³³ aus
 Silber, deren vor Gula, vor der Herrin des Gefildes," VII

²⁷ Das bi am Schlusse der Zeile möchte ich noch als zum Namen gehörig betrachten,
 den ich Asur-šar-a-ni-ti-bi = Asur-šar-a-ni-uballitsu lese, im Hinblick auf
 den [113] rv. 10 ebenfalls nach Asur-mukīn-palē-ia genannten Sohn Asarhaddon
 namens Šar-šamē-u-irāṭim-uballitsu; vielleicht handelt es sich um dieselbe
 Persönlichkeit.

²⁸ Ergänzung nach [450], 2 f. šulmu a-na ^m asur-mu-kin-palu-u-a lib-
 bi ša šarri bēli-ia lu ṭa-ab-šu. Etwa Z. 8 f. lib-bi lib-bi ša šarri bēli-
 ia . . . herzustellen zu wollen, halte ich für gänzlich ausgeschlossen, da dann abgesehen
 von der nicht sehr wahrscheinlichen Schreibweise von liblibbu am Ende v. Z. 9 keine
 Ergänzungsmöglichkeit wäre.

²⁹ Ergänze: nu te-e-lā ṭehi-e?

³⁰ Bezeichnung der Beschwörungsserie.

³¹ D. h. Nergals? Zu Latarak Zimmern, *Rituallf.* N-50, Kol. II, F; N-54, 2 F.

³² še'u wird hier ganz konkret als einzelnes "Korn" zu fassen sein, wie bei der
 Gewichtsbezeichnung, wo še'u ein "Getreidekorn" ist, z. B. 1 šiqū = 180 še'u
 "Getreidekörner"; dazu Weissbach *ZDMG* LXI, 379.

³³ šulpu = Halm nach freundlicher Mitteilung Landsbergers.

Körner aus Silber, VII Körner aus Gold, VII Körner aus Erz, VII Körner aus Blei, VII der Stadt zum des Flusses, [VII Stäbe] aus Tamariskenholz³⁴ (?) VII Stäbe aus Palmenholz, VII [La]hängefäße mit We[in], VII Lahängefäße mit Bier, VII Lahängefäße mit Milch, VII Lahängefäße mit Honig(!) haben wir gemacht die Zeremonien noch nicht sowie das Opfer zum Ausführen der Se[her?] die Zeremonien.”

Die Erwähnung von Adad-šum-ušur und Arad-Ea in [1004] K. 1963 dürfte darauf hindeuten, dass auch in diesem Texte vom Kult die Rede war. Anscheinend fanden Zeremonien in verschiedenen Städten statt und die Priester reisten zu diesem Zwecke von einer Stadt zur andern.³⁵ Die Nennung der Königssöhne in obv. 7 könnte vielleicht an einen ähnlichen Fall wie in [113] rv. erinnern, wo Opfer der Söhne Asarhaddons (mārē šarri) dargebracht werden. Die Umschrift des Fragmentes lautet: ¹la ²ma-a pi ³ūmu XII ^{kam} ⁴id-da-at ⁵a-na ^{a1} kal-ha ⁶ūmu XIII ^{kam} a-na ^{a1} ⁷ištu mārē šarri it ⁸ūmu XV ^{kam} a-na ^{a1} ni-nu-[a] ^{9m} ^{il} adad-šum-ušur e-tap? . . rv. ¹ištu ^m asur-našir ^{ir} ^amēl rab . . ^{2m} sa-si-i ^m arad-^{il} e-[a] ³ma-a a-du la-ti ⁴lu-ši-ib a-bu-tù ⁵. šu-nu it ⁶. ⁷ša ^amēl ma-a ina bit(?) ha-ka-me ištu Von der Aufstellung von Königsbildern im Tempel wussten wir, abgesehen von anderen Texten, schon aus früheren Briefen der Sammlung wie [257] u. [36] (dazu Behrens 50), ebenso werden im verstümmelten Briefe [1014] K. 4678 Bilder Sargons, “soviel ihrer im Tempel” erwähnt. rv. 12 f. ša-lam-a-ni ša ^m Šar-ukīn šar ^{māt} assur ^{ki} am-mar ša ina lib-bi ē-kur³⁶

Eine Klage über die Unterbrechung des Kultes und eine Bitte um Unterstützung enthält [1034] K. 8530 rv.: ¹a-du-ú a-na

³⁴ Ich möchte hier zögernd VII ^{PA} ⁱš bi-nu ergänzen, 7 Stäbe aus Tamariskenholz, man würde zwar in einem assyrischen Texte eher ⁱš bi-ni erwarten.

³⁵ Vgl. dazu Behrens 24⁴.

³⁶ Zitiert von Bezold, Cat. 655. Sollte [1098] 81-2-4, 127 etwas mit Aufstellung von Königsbildern zu tun haben? obv. 9 ff. ina muh ša šarru be-li ¹⁰iš-pu-ra-an-ni-ni šarrāni meš-ni imna u šumēla it-ti-ti-su nu ¹⁵. su-u-ni rv. a¹-ši-bu-u[t] ^{a1}arba-il-a-na šarri bēli-lalikrubu.

šarri be-lī-ia ²al-tap-ru-ma dul-lu ina bīt ³ilāni meš-
ka la iš-šak-kan ⁴it-ti ¹¹marduk ¹¹šar-pa-ni-tum ⁵at-
te-ni-i-la it-ti šarri be-li-ia ⁶at-te-ni-i-la šarru la
u-maš-šar-an-ni ⁷ina tuk-ka-a-nu la a-hal-liq ⁸ki-i ša
šarri be-lī-a ih-tar-za-am-ma ⁹ul-tu muh I šiqu-ma
a-di II šiqu hurāši ¹⁰ina pa-ni-ia id-dan . . . ina puhur
ša matāte ¹¹šarru li-du-ka-an-ni ia . . . "Jetzt habe ich
zum Könige, meinem Herrn, geschickt, Kult (oder Arbeit) findet im
Hause deiner Götter nicht statt. Bei Marduk und Šarpanit suche
ich Zuflucht (?) beim König, meinem Herrn, suche ich Zuflucht (?)
der König wird mich nicht verlassen und in Not (?) werde ich nicht
zu Grunde gehen. Wie der König, mein Herr, es bestimmt, wird er
mir ein bis zwei Schekel Silber geben . . . vor allen Länder möge
der König mich töten (?)" [1092] 81-2-4, 56 meldet die Fer-
tigstellung einer Kapelle der Ninlil und zählt die zur Einweihung (?)
günstigen Monate auf. Der König scheint ersucht zu werden, den
Zeitpunkt genauer zu bestimmen. obv.³⁷ 13 ff.: parakku ša ¹¹
nin-lil-ra \ ga-am-mur ¹⁴arah aiar ^{arah}sivān arhāni
¹⁵da-bu-u-ti ¹⁶ina lib-bi AB-ŠE-GI-DA ¹⁷ki-i an-ni-i ša-
aṭ-ṭir ¹⁸. . . an bit ina bīti ma-gir ¹⁹šum-ma šarru be-li
i-qa-bi ²⁰. . . . ^{arah}sivān ²¹. . . num lu ta-ab-qu(?) ²².
ki ša? la me rv. [1-7 zerstört] ⁸. . . an-nu-rig ^{arah}aiar ^{arah}
sivān arhāni ¹⁰da-bu-u-ti-šu-nu ¹¹šarru be-li ṭe-e-mu liš-
kun ¹²li-li-sa-a-ni(?) ? (=li?)-ik-ri-mu ¹³išten^{en} šu-ú li(?)
li-su ? ištu ¹⁴ēkurrāte i-rib-bi-a. "Die Kapelle der Ninlil
ist fertig gestellt. Aiar und Sivan sind gute Monate. In Betreff
des Günstigen (?) (oder der günstigen Tage?) ist folgendermassen
geschrieben (?) . . . im Hause günstig, wenn der König, mein
Herr, spricht der Sivan . . . rv. jetzt der Aiar und Sivan, das
sind gute Monate, der König möge Befehl geben. . . ." Leider
bietet der Text mancherlei Schwierigkeiten, die letzten Zeilen des
Rv. vermag ich nicht zu erklären. Das ra in ša ¹¹ nin-lil-ra
ist sehr auffallend. AB-ŠE-GI-DA findet sich K. 106 rv. (Boissier
DA 101 f., vgl. Meissner SA I 2510) die von Boissier, *Divn.* II, 17
angenommene Bedeutung mitgaru scheint mir wenigstens allein
auf Grund von K. 106 nicht so ohneweiters festzustehen, wenn

³⁷ Obv. 1-4 auch Bezold, Cat. 1756.

auch das Ideogramm sicher etwas Günstiges bezeichnet.³⁸ Das lilissu, dazu Jensen K B VI 443, Frank *Studien* I, 234 wird auch [612] obv. 5, ferner [625] u. [669] erwähnt. Man vergleiche noch Virolleaud, Adad XI, 16: ¹¹Adad rigim-šu kima li-li-si iddi. Die Stelle spricht für lilisu = Trommel.³⁹ Zu Form i-rib(lab)-bi-a vgl. K. 164, 3 f. 15 (BA II 635) III šu ištu iršu ta-rib-bi-a.

Mit dem Istarkult steht vielleicht [1094] 81-2-4, 64 im Zusammenhang, ein textlich recht schwieriger Brief, von dem ich keine Uebersetzung zu geben wage. Der Name des Absenders ist mit Harper Arad-Nabū zu lesen, gegen Bezolds Arad-bēl (Cat. 1757), wie ich mich durch Kollation überzeugen konnte. Doch scheint dieser Arad-Nabū (arad ¹¹AG geschrieben) keineswegs mit dem als Schreiber zahlreicher Briefe bekanntem Manne gleichen Namens (aber arad ¹¹PA geschrieben) identisch zu sein, da der Letztere, sich durchwegs immer viel ausführlicherer Eingangsformeln bedient. Ob der [498] rv. 7 genannte Arad-Nabū mit unserem Schreiber etwas zu tun hat, ist nicht auszumachen. Umschrift obv. 6 ff.: ūmu XXVIII ^{kam} bit(d) nu-pa-sa-ak ⁷iš me (=iṣē) li-ia-a-ni ⁸ū-qar-ra-ab ⁹ūmu XIX ^{kam} mar-du-tu ni-par-ri-ik ¹⁰qi-ku-ut-tu ša ¹¹ištar ¹²gab-bu nu-še-ra-da ¹²¹¹ištar .. muh nēši ¹³... [k]a-ra ... šarru .. rv. [ūmu] . ^{kam} . ma (?) an (?) it-ta-ma-ar ³mē (A (?) -meš) ša rim-ki ⁴nu-ma-al-la Z. 6. Für pasāqu (resp. pussuqu) hat Behrens 3 auf Grund von [635] rv. die Bedeutung "wandern" aufgestellt, ich habe *Beamtentum* 30 ¹wegen [503] rv. 10 (nāru pasuqu) als Grundbedeutung "durchschneiden" angenommen. Die Zeile könnte also zu Not heissen "wir schneiden das Haus aus" womit vielleicht das Ausheben des Erdreichs gemeint wäre. Oder sollte vielmehr bid als Conjunction zu lesen sein, in diesem Falle

³⁸ K. 106 rv. zählt in drei Spalten, die in Addar, Šabat und Nisan günstigen Tage auf. Da die Spalten in der schematischen Anordnung ganz gleich sind, sei hier nur die linke, den Addar betreffende aufgeführt. Beim 3, 4, 13, 15, 20, 22, 24, 28ten. Monatstag wird AB-ŠE-GI-DA hinzugefügt, beim 1. ŠAG-HUL-LA, beim 5. A-ŠAG-GA AN-DIB-BA, beim 30. ka-liš ma-gir, hierauf folgt die Summierung naphar XI ūmāte ṭabāti ša arah addar za-ku-a-te mit-gur-a-te sa il-lu ūmu hegalli ina lib-bi la-aš-šu-u-ni. Also AB-ŠE-GID-DA = mitgaru keineswegs erwiesen.

³⁹ Wenn vorher Adads Stimme mit der verschiedener Tiere verglichen wird, so könnte, falls, lilissu hier ein Tiername, der Name des Tieres vom Instrumente hergenommen sein.

würde man dann am Verbum eher ein *ni* erwarten zur Andeutung des abhängigen Satzes. Z. 8 *li-ia* (?) -*ni* ist vielleicht pl. von *li'u* "Tafel."⁴⁰ *mardutu*. u statt *i* findet sich das eine oder andere Mal in den Briefen⁴¹ also *mardutu* = *marditu* (?)⁴² demnach Z. 9 ff.: "den Weg(?) sperren wir ab, die *qikuttu* der Istar insgesamt bringen wir herab. Istar . . . auf dem Löwen. . . ." Zum Löwen als Istarsymbol vgl. Frank *Bilder*, etc., 19. Rv. 2 f. ". . . wird gesehen, mit Wasser der Aussprengung⁴³ füllen wir an."

Als eine Art Festkalender, genauer als ein Verzeichnis von Zereemonien, die gegen Monatsende in verschiedenen Städten stattfanden, möchte ich [1097], 81-2-4, 122 bezeichnen. Leider erwähnt der Bericht nicht, welcher Monat gemeint ist. obv. 2 ff.: *ra-a-qu* . . . ³*la-aš-šu ina lib* . . . ⁴*ūmu XXVI kam ilu* . . . ⁵*ūmu XXVII kam il[u]* . . . ⁶*ūmu XXVII kam ilu* . . . ⁷*ūmu XXVI kam ša še-ra-a-t[i]* . . . ⁸*u-še-ru-bu tak-[lim-tu]* ⁹*u-kal-lu-mu ūmu X* . . . ¹⁰*ki-i an-nim-[ma]* . . . ¹¹*an-ni-u ša a¹ assur (a¹ lib-bi-a[l])* . . . rv. ¹*ūmu XXVI kam kil-lum ūmu XXVII kam pa-ša-r[u]* ²*ūmu XXVI kam ilu dumu-zi ki-i an-nim-ma* ³*ina a¹ ninua ki tak-lim-tú ú-kal-lu-mu* ⁴*ūmu XXVII kam ūmu XXVI kam ki-i an-nim-ma* ⁵*ina a¹ kal-ha tak-lim-tù* ⁶*ūmu XXVII kam ūmu XXVIII kam ūmu XX* . . . ⁷*ina a¹ [arba]-il tak-lim-tù* . . . ⁸. *ni-ik* . . . 3 ff.: "nicht, in betreff . . . am 26^{ten} der Gott . . . am 27^{ten} der Gott . . . am 28^{ten} der Gott . . . am 26^{ten} des Morgens⁴⁴ . . . führen sie herein, stellen sie zur Schau (?) am X. . . . desgleichen . . . das ist das auf die Stadt Assu[r] Bezügliche . . . rv. am 26^{ten} Wehklagen, am 27^{ten} Besänftigen] am 26[?] Tammuz desgleichen, in Ninive stellen sie zur Schau. Am 27^{ten}, 26[?] desgleichen⁵ in Kalha Schaustellung, am 27^{ten}, am 28^{ten}, am . . . in [Arb]ela Schaustellung . . ." *taklimtu* findet sich noch [35] obv. 7, auch in plural als *tak-lim-a-ti*. obv. 11, rv. 1, rv. 3 ff. berühren sich etwas mit unserem Texte: *šarru be-li ki-i an-ni-i* ⁵*iq-di-bi ma-a ištu lib ūmu XXVII*

⁴⁰ Vgl. *li-a-ni*, vgl. K. 943 rv. 3 (Meissner-Rost, *Bit-hillani*, 10-11) Muss-Arnolt 466 a.

⁴¹ Vgl. Ylvisaker § 7 g.

⁴² *marditu* 408, rv. 7.

⁴³ Vgl. 223, 9: *A-MEŠ ŠU-SE-IR*.

⁴⁴ Vgl. *šertu* III R 66 obv. 10a (Deltzsch *HWB* 635b).

a-di umu XXVII (??)⁴⁶ tak-lim-tù ina ^{a1}arba-il lu-kal-li-mu. taklimtu kullumu wurde hier als "zur Schau stellen" gefasst. taklimtu wird gewöhnlich mit Weisung, Befehl übersetzt und ungefähr eine solche Bedeutung dürfte das Wort in V R 20a,b, wo es mit tērtum und urtum zusammensteht, ja haben. taklimtu scheint in unserem Texte etwas Konkreteres zu bedeuten und deshalb wurde es versuchsweise mit "Schaustellung" übersetzt, vielleicht gilt diese Bedeutung auch für K. 164,⁴⁶ obv. 1 f. (vgl. 18): ir-šu i-kar-ra-ru tak-lim-tu u-kal-lu-mu šēpa i-ma-assi-u "das Bett stellen sie auf, eine Schaustellung machen sie (d. h. die Gottheit wird gezeigt?), die Füße waschen sie." Ob wegen der Beziehung, die unser Text mit [56] zeigt, auf den gleichen Verfasser (Ištar-šum-ēreš) geschlossen werden darf, ist nicht leicht zu entscheiden.

Nicht ganz zu den Briefen kultischen Inhalts gehört [1133], 83-1-18, 128, den Bezold, Cat. 1865 als "concerning religious subject" bezeichnet. Der Absender, der anscheinend krank ist, ersucht den König um Absendung eines Arztes und eines Mašmašupriesters. Als Schreiber kommt wahrscheinlich Arad-Nabū (arad ¹¹ P A) in Betracht, worauf die ausführliche Einleitungsformel mit der Phrase obv. 7 f. : ma-šar šul-me b[a-la]-di itti (TA) šarri bēli-ia [lip-qid]-du, die sich auch [113] und [427] findet, hinweist. obv. 9 ist natürlich ¹[šēd]u (!) du-un-ki ¹¹ lam[assu du]-un-ki zu lesen. obv. 11 ff. enthält eine Schilderung des elenden Zustandes des Schreibers: ¹¹[ina muh] ša šarru be-li iš-pur-an-ni ¹²[ma-a a]-ta-a a-na ^{a1}assur la tal-lik ¹³. . a-ra la al-lak mar-ša-ku ¹⁴. . al-lak ina šid-di hūli⁴⁷ a-mu-at ¹⁵i-gab-bi-a ma-a man-nu at-ta ¹⁶. . la i-da-gal-an-ni ¹⁷. . an(?) ka-lu-u ú-di. "In Betreff, dass der König, mein Herr, geschrieben hat: "warum bist du nach der Stadt Assur nicht gegangen" . . . nicht gehe ich, ich bin krank . . . gehe ich, so werde ich am Wegrande sterben . . . spricht wer bist du . . . sieht nicht . . . wusste es." Rv. 10 ff. enthält dann nach einigen weiteren Zeilen die Bitte um Hilfe: ú-ma ištu qāte šarri bēli-ia lu-u lā e-li ¹¹ištēn en a mēl maš-maš a mēl a-zu ¹²ina

⁴⁶ Lies 28ten? Vgl. Ylvisaker, 75.

⁴⁷ BA II, 635.

⁴⁸ Vgl. die bekannte Stelle [406], rv. 16: ina šid-di kaš mit der Glosse hu-u-11.

pāni-ia lip-qid-ma . . . meš ¹³dul-li-[ia?] li-pu-šu (?)
 "Jetzt möge ich ja nicht der Obhut (eigentlich Hand) des
 Königs, meines Herrn, verlustig werden, einen Mašmašu, einen Arzt
 möge er mir zuteilen den Kult für mich(?) mögen sie
 verrichten."

Kultische Handlungen (das Auflegen von Kleidern vor der Gott-
 heit) werden in [1126], 83-1-18, 95 erwähnt. obv. 1 ff.: a-na
 ²mār-mārē meš ³li-in-tu-h[u] ⁴ma-a at-
 ta la te ⁵la te-ip-pa-aš ki-i ma-si šarru (sic? statt in)
 iq-bu-u-ni li-ru-ub la tal-(?) . . ⁷ina pa-ni-ia lu te-pu-uš
 ina muh ⁸ša šarru be-li iq-bu-u-ni ma-a ku(?) -zip(?) -
 pi(?) . . ⁹i-šak-ku-nu ú-la-a ina muh nišē- . . ¹⁰a-na
 me-i-ni nišē iz-za-a-zu ¹¹k[u]-zip-pi-ma ina tar-ši ¹¹šamaš
 lu šak-nu ¹²ina muh-hi pi-šir-a-ti lu tak-ru-ur ¹³ . . . ?
 qa-di su me-me-ni ¹⁴[i-b]a-aš-ši te-ip-pa-aš ¹⁵ . . li-iz-
 zi-zu ¹⁶ . . . šu-nu li-pu-šu ¹⁷ . . . [pi-šir?]-a-ti ¹⁸maš-maš
 rv. ¹ šumāte ša šarru be-li ² tu-u-ra ia-um-ma
³ li ú-la šu-mu ša šarri ⁴ mār šarri ù ahhē-šu
 gab-bu ⁵ . . . meš bēli-ia-a-ni gab-bu ⁶ . . a-na-ku a-qab-
 ba-aš-ši ta-zak-kar (Z. 7-12 gänzlich verstümmelt) Kante:
 ud(?) ni-sak-kan šarru be-li "dem Kindeskind
 möge heben du nicht ⁵machst nicht, wie vielmal
 der König(?) gesagt hat, möge er eintreten , vor mir mögest(?)⁴⁸
 du machen. In Betreff, dass der König, mein Herr, gesagt hat: Kleider
 sollen sie auflegen oder in Betreff der Leute. Warum sollen Leute
 dabei stehen? Die Kleider mögen Šamaš gegenüber gelegt sein.
 In Betreff ?? irgend etwas vorhanden, sollst du machen . . .
 mögen stehen ihre mögen sie machen der
 maš-maš." Der Brief ist leider sehr verstümmelt und in den
 Einzelheiten unklar, dass es sich um kultische Zeremonien handelt,
 scheint sicher. Ueber die Person des Absenders lassen sich nach
 den erhaltenen Resten der Einleitungsformel einige Vermutungen
 aufstellen. Eine ähnliche Formel⁴⁹ findet sich [178] (Absender
 Nabū-naṣir¹⁷) vgl. rv. 1 ff.: ša pi-qit-te ša bēlit parši
 šarru be-li mār-mārē-šu ina bur-ki-e-šu li-in-tu-hu; ferner

⁴⁸ Doch so? nicht möge sie machen oder fürwahr machest du.

⁴⁹ Vgl. hierzu Behrens 821.

[406] (Absender Nabū-ahhē-eriba) rv. 12 ff.: mār-mārē-šu šarru be-li ina bur-ki-šu li-in-tu-uh und [453] (Absender Marduk-šakin-šum) 16 ff.: mār-mārē-šu-un šarru ina si-qi-šu li-in-tu-uh. Marduk-šakin-šum könnte Absender unseres Briefes sein, vgl. obv. 12 ff. mit [453] rv. 7 ff.: ú-ma a-ki-i ša šarru be-li i-qab-bu-ni šum-ma tal-la-ka a-na ^{a1} kal-ha a-na ^m a-hu-ni ¹⁰ liš-pa-ru-ni li-in-tu-ha ¹¹ lu-bi-la ba-si pi-šir-a-ti ¹² lu tak-ru-ur ù a-na-ku ¹³ an-nu-rig dup-pa-a-ni XXX, XL ¹⁴ damqūti am-mar ina muh-hi qur-bu-u-ni ù ¹⁵ a-hi-u-ti i-ba-aš-ši i-si-ni-š ša im-ma-ti me-ni ri-e-šu [at-ta]-ta-ha. "Jetzt, wie der König, mein Herr, befiehlt: wenn du gehst, möge man nach Kalha zu Ahuni senden, er möge es aufheben, bringen, schnell die. . . . Jetzt habe ich 30, 40 gute Tafeln, soviel deswegen herbeigebracht und andere, die (?) auch da sind (?)" Der Sinn, der in beiden Texten sich findenden Phrase piširāti lu tak-rur entgeht mir leider. Ob piširāti mit pišru "Deutung," piširtu "Lösung" etwas zu tun hat, wozu die Erwähnung der allenfalls zu Deutungszwecken herbeigebrachten Tafeln verleiten könnte, ist zweifelhaft, falls der Stamm karāru "aufstellen" vorliegt, käme vielleicht eher eines von den bei Muss-Arnolt unter piširtu 1 u. 2 angeführten Worte in Betracht. piširtu 1 scheint ein Gegenstand zum Auslöschen des Feuers zu sein, der ja allenfalls aufgestellt werden konnte, piširtu 2 (falls die Trennung der Worte berechtigt ist) ist leider noch ganz dunkel.

Mehr ins astrologische Gebiet fällt [1140], 83–1–18, 149, das eine Aufzählung der zur Kultverrichtung günstigen Tage enthält. obv. 2ff.: bi . . . damiq^{iq3} . . . ilāni me-ni¹ i-pa-lah-u-ni⁴ . . . li-e damiq^{iq6} ūme^{me} ṭabūti ša šarru be-li-šu (?) (lies a?) ⁶iq-bu-ú-ni ⁷ūmu X^{kam} ūmu XV^{kam} ūmu XVI^{kam} ⁸ūmu XVII^{kam} ⁹ūmu XX^{kam} ūmu XXII^{kam} ūmu XXIV^{kam} rv. ¹ūmu XXVI^{kam} naphar VIII ūmē ²ša^{arah} aīar ša ³a-na e-pi-šī-bu-ti ⁴pa-la-ah ili da-ba-a-ni ⁵ūmu X^{kam} ina di-ni ma-gir ⁶ūmu XV^{kam} te-bi šuk-lu-lu ⁷[ūmu] XVI^{kam} hu-ud lib-bi ⁸[ūmu] XVIII^{kam} za-a-tù bu-šu-ur ⁹. . . . muš (širu) li-du-uk ¹⁰. . . . du-tu illak^{ak} ¹¹. . . . ab (?) ina (?) e (?) piš (?) ši-bu-ti. " gut. Götter verehren sie gut, die günstigen Tage, betreffs derer,

der König, mein (sic?) Herr, gesprochen hat (so sind es) der 10^{te}, 15^{te}, 16^{te}, 18^{te}, 20^{te}, 22^{te}, 24^{te}, rv. 26^{te}, im ganzen 8 Tage des Monats Aiiar, welche zur Bittstellung und Gottesverehrung günstig sind, der 10^{te} ist in der Entscheidung⁵⁰ günstig, der 15^{te} . . . vollkommen, der 16^{te} (bedeutet) Herzensfreude, der 18^{te} in Zukunft . . . eine Schlange möge er töten (??) . . . wird gehen . . . bei der Wunschstellung." rv. 6 und 8 sind mir unklar. te-bi šuk-lu-lu könnte wörtlich heißen "das Nahen (oder TE-bi sein Nahen) ist vollkommen," za-a-tù pu-šu-ur, "die Zukunft löse" dem Zusammenhange fügen sich diese Sätze aber kaum ein.

Einen interessanten Einblick in das Zeremoniell für den König beim Einzuge einer Göttin enthält [1164], Bu. 89-4-26, 6:⁵¹ ¹i-ši-a-ri ilu ša ad ru ²i¹ ištā ištū ³me-il-ki-a ⁴ta-har-ru-bu pa-an šarri te-e-rab ⁵i-da-a-ti šarru e-rab ⁶ú-la-a šarru e-rab ⁷i-da-a-ti ⁸ištā te-e-rab ⁹ki-i ša ina pa-an šarri bēli-ia ma-hi-ru-ni ¹⁰šarru be-li liš-pur ina pit-ti li-e-pu-šu rv. ¹¹is-su-ri ¹²ištā ištū am-ma-ka ¹³šarru ištū an-na-ka ¹⁴a-ki-i šarru be-li ina lib enā ša ¹⁵ištā ¹⁶i-ma-qut ina muh-hi šu-u ¹⁷a-na šarri bēli-ia a-sa-ap-ra. "Morgen . . . wird Istar aus der Stadt Milkia aufbrechen,⁵² vor dem Könige wird sie eintreten, der König wird zu (ihrer) Seite eintreten oder der König wird eintreten, zu (seiner) Seite wird Istar eintreten. Wie es dem Könige, meinem Herrn, gefällt, möge der König Befehl senden, sofort möge man es tun. Augenblicklich (derzeit) befindet sich Istar dort (eigentl. von dorthier), der König hier (eigentl. von hier). Wie der König, mein Herr, der Istar vor Augen treten soll (eigentlich in die Augen fallen soll), darüber habe ich dem Könige, meinem Herrn, geschrieben." Die Statue der Göttin begibt sich von Milkia zum Hofe des Königs, der Absender erbittet sich vom Könige nähere Angaben über ein Detail des Zeremoniells, ob nämlich der Göttin oder dem Könige, offenbar beim Einzuge in den Tempel, der Vortritt gelassen werden soll. Nach der Stilisierung der Anfrage scheint der priesterliche Schreiber zu erwarten, dass man

⁵⁰ Gemeint ist dīnu von der Entscheidung bei der Opferschau resp. Leberschau, vgl. die Eabformel in den Anfragen an Šamaš: e-zib ša dīn ūmu annīkīma ṭāb kīma haṭu-u.

⁵¹ Früher von Bezold, Cat. 1917 veröffentlicht.




⁵² Die Stelle scheint doch (gegen Ylvisaker 30³) zu zeigen, dass einem harābu die Bedeutung "aufbrechen" und nicht "beeilen" zukommt.

seiner Göttin den Vortritt lasse.—Schliesslich möchte ich auch vermutungsweise das Fragment [1039] K. 1309 zu den Briefen kultischen Inhalts rechnen, wie insbesondere die 3 letzten Reverszeilen zu zeigen scheinen. Die Umschrift lautet 6 ff.: ina muh-hi š[a šarru bēli^(?)] 7iš-pur-an-[ni ma-a] 8a-ta-mar [šulmu^{mu}] 9a-dan-niš ša... 10te-e-mu... 11mu-uk lu... 12ina nāri ur... 13ši... rv. 1an.... 2ša mu[h]. ... 3u-ša-aš-[bit] 4a-na ši-a-[ri] 5ina nu-bat-[te] 6ip-pa-[aš]. Der Vergleich von ina nāri ur... (obv. 12) mit [553] K. 659 rv. 7 nār u-rat (Bezold Catalogue, 1288, vgl. auch Streck *AJSL* XXII, 218) ist unzulässig, da u-rad als Verbalform aufzufassen ist.⁵³

Zu den kultischen Briefen kann man auch im gewissen Sinne die astrologischen Briefe rechnen, die, soweit sie nicht rein astronomischen Inhaltes sind, teilweise im Harper'schen Briefcorpus Aufnahme gefunden haben. Eine zusammenfassende Behandlung dieser Texte steht, abgesehen von den Bemerkungen in Jastrows *Religion* II, noch aus. Von den inzwischen neu hinzugekommenen Texten beansprucht am meisten Interesse [1080] Rm. 556, 2 ff.: 2ir-tu-[ab]... 3ki-i an-ni-i 4pi-še-ir-šu 5enuma ir-ši-tù ina ^{arah} sivān 6i-ru-ub 7šu-bat na-me-e 8na-du-u-ti 9ina a-mat 11en-lil, rv. 1uš-ša-bu (Trennungsstrich) 2ša atalē bi-id 3lum-mu i-ba-aš-šu-ni 4lu-ba-'i-i-ú 5li-is-sa-hu-u-ni 6me-me-ni lil-[lik] 7ina 81ni-nu-[a]... 9ina lib sa i-šad.... Der Bericht meldet ein im Monat Sivan stattgehabtes Erdbeben und giebt gleichzeitig die Deutung: "[die Erde] hat gebebt. Folgendermassen ist die betreffende Deutung: Bebt die Erde im Sivan, so wird man verfallene Gefildestätten auf Befehl Enlil's besiedeln." Die Stelle obv. 5, rv. 1, ist Zitat aus dem astrologischen Omenwerk, das die auf Erdbeben bezüglichen Omina enthielt. Die Quelle unseres Zitats ist Virolleaud, *Adad*, XX, 38, eine verstümmelte Stelle, die durch unseren Brief ergänzt wird. Es wird dort gegen V.'s ba-bat etc. (vgl. Bezold bei Boll und Bezold, *Reflexe* etc., 45: mutānu na-me-e imqatū ^{p1}...) vielmehr wie in unserem Brief šu (!)-bat na-me-e nadūti^{p1}... zu lesen sein.

Berichte über Himmelsbeobachtungen enthalten [1069] und [1113], [1132], [1137]. Der erstere ist eine der häufigen Meldungen über

⁵³ Behrens 100, Ylvisaker 47.

die Beobachtung einer Mondesverfinsterung und eines Mondhofes. obv. 2 ff: ²ni-mu-ur [ina muh] ³ša tarbaši sa ¹¹si[n] a ⁴-na šarri bēli-ia ⁵a-sap-pa-ra ⁶ina muh ma-šar-ti ⁷ša atalē ¹¹sin ⁸ša šarru be-li ⁹iš-pur-an-ni ¹⁰... ma-šar-tu-šu ¹¹... en su ¹²... ¹¹ša-maš ra-b[i]-e ¹³... tu-šu ¹⁴... ru sud. "wir haben gesehen. In Betreff des Mondhofes habe ich dem König, meinem Herrn, berichtet seine Beobachtung ?? des grossen Šamaš." Der Rv. ist zu verstümmelt und ein Zusammenhang nicht recht herzustellen. [1113] enthält die Beantwortung einer Frage des Königs betreffs des Nibeanusternes; obv. 1 ff.: ¹kakkab-ni-be-a-nu ²it-tan-mar mi-na-a ³la taš-pu-ra ⁴kakkab ni-be-a-nu ina arah ab ⁵a-mir en-na it-ti ⁶kakkab zi-ba-an-na CXX+XXX ammatu ʔu . . ⁸iq-te-ru-ub rv. aš-ša id-di-hu-šu ²bab (?)tum (radiert) -šu a-na ³šarri be-li-ia a-sap-pa-ra ⁵ša en-na in-nam-ru ⁶kakkab LU. BAT.GUD.UD ⁷ina lib-bi kakkab    ⁸šu-ú ša ¹¹ni-be-a-nu "Der Nibeanu ist sichtbar geworden, was hast du nicht geschrieben?" der Nibeanu ist im Monat Ab sichtbar. Jetzt ist er mit dem Zibanna 150 Ellen herangekommen. Wenn (?) er sich ihm genähert, werde ich seine (man erwartet etwas wie Deutung pišru?) dem Könige, meinem Herrn, schreiben. Jetzt sind sie gesehen worden, Merkur steht im Stern der Nibeanu." [1137] ist eine der zahlreichen Meldungen, dass Sonne und Mond am 14. des Monats in Opposition (ahiš etamru) waren. Auch [1132] behandelt in obv. so viel sich aus dem verstümmelten Text ersehen lässt, Sternpositionen usw. der Venus kakkab dilbat nam-rat (obv. 5) ¹¹dil-bat ina lib kakkab . . (obv. 10). In [1134], ebenfalls einem astrologischen Texte mit ausführlichen Deutungen, ist die Stelle obv. 17 f. beachtenswert. ittu-šu la-ap-ta-at a-dan-niš. "Sein Zeichen ist äusserst ungünstig;" la-ap-ta-at ist die phonetische Schreibung des sich häufig am Schluss der Leberschauberichte findenden TAK-at.⁵⁵ Unserer Gruppe von Texten dürfte auch [1118] (nur eine Hälfte erhalten) hinzuzuzählen sein, wie das pi-šir-šu im rv. 4 erkennen lässt, es könnte sich um Erdbebenomen handeln, falls das ri-i-bi in obv. 6, 12 wirklich rību

⁵⁵ Harper vergleicht hierzu 1134 rv. 2, 6 kakkab   .

⁵⁶ S. A. Smith, *Assurbanipal* III, die letzten Tafeln.

“Erdbeben” ist und nichts davor fehlt. [1156] ist eines der zahlreichen Täfelchen über die Beobachtung des Neulichtes am 29. Monatstag.—Von der Aufbewahrung von Mondesfinsternistafeln spricht [1096], obv. 7–15: ⁷ina muh u-il-ti ⁸ša atalē ¹¹sin ⁹ša šarru be-li ¹⁰iš-pur-an-ni ¹¹ina pān abi-šu ša šarri ¹²bēli-ia u-il-a-ti ¹³ša ^{amēl}a-ba-tù ili ¹¹en-lil ¹⁴gab-bu i-mah-hu-ru ¹⁵u-še-ir-ru-bu. “In Betreff der Mondesfinsternistafeln, deretwegen der König, mein Herr, geschrieben, vor dem Vater des Königs, meines Herrn, nehmen sie die Tafeln der Gottesschreiber (Text in Ordnung?) Enlils insgesamt in Empfang und bringen sie herein.”⁵⁶

Eine ganze Anzahl von Briefen, die sich nicht unter denen historischen oder kultischen Inhalts einordnen lassen, sind nicht ohne Bedeutung für die Kulturgeschichte und haben dementsprechend auch im grösseren oder geringeren Masse Beachtung gefunden. Stellen sie doch als Berichte an den Hof Verwaltungsdokumente dar, die immerhin einen gewissen Einblick in das verwickelte Getriebe der assyrischen Verwaltung gewähren. Wie sich aus der Menge dieser Briefe ergibt, musste jedenfalls zur Sichtung und Erledigung dieser zahlreichen Korrespondenz ein wohlausgebildetes Schreiberkorps am königlichen Hofe tätig sein, das die verschiedenen Briefe “aktenmässig” erledigt zu haben scheint. Denn wir finden unter den Briefen auch einige Duplikate und zwar nicht nur von solchen, die vom Könige weggesandt werden sollten, die man also in Abschrift besitzen wollte, sondern auch von eingelangten Berichten, die offenbar eine besondere Wichtigkeit besaßen. So ist [283] K. 597 Duplikat zu [793] 83–1–18, 79 und [297] K. 1271 zu [292] K. 938;⁵⁷ [1108], 82–5–22, 166 ist Duplikat zu dem früher veröffentlichten Texte [543] K. 176, von dem übrigens noch eine dritte teilweise Abschrift [273], K. 578 vorliegt, wie Johns⁵⁸ schon seinerzeit erkannt hatte. [1108] und [543] waren vollständige Duplikate, die sich jetzt gegenseitig

⁵⁶ Schwierigkeit bereiten die Praesensformen *imahhuru uširrubu*, aus denen hervorgehen würde, dass der Vater des Königs noch am Leben wäre. Oder sollte am Ende doch die Praesensform im Sinne von pflegen gebraucht werden können (Behrens 44¹ zu [349], 13 ff.) so dass man zu übersetzen hätte, “man pflegte sie in Empfang zu nehmen und hereinzubringen?” Auch Z. 13 ist keineswegs sicher, vielleicht hat der Schreiber das Gottesdeterminativ versehentlich zweimal gesetzt.

⁵⁷ Dagegen bezieht sich Bezold's Bemerkung zu K. 1257, [990] Cat. 753 “the text corresponds to that of K. 582,” [167] nur auf die Einleitungsformel.

⁵⁸ *Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters* 364.

ergänzen und nur in graphischen Varianten abweichen, [273] stimmt in Z. 4 bis Schluss mit [1108] rv. 8 bis Schluss im wesentlichen überein, weicht aber in einigen Worten ab. So hat [273] rv. 3 ff.: ^amē¹ rab-KA.SAR II M sisē ina qāte-šu-nu us-si-bi-lak-ka li-iz-zi-zu is-si-ku-nu dul-lu li-pu-šu, während [1108] rv. 16 ff. (= [543], 15 ff.) die Zahlenangabe vermissen lassen: ^amē¹ rab-ki-šir (!) sisē ina qāte-šu-nu na-aš-šu-u-ni is-si-ku-nu li-iz-zi-zu is-si-ku-nu dul-lu li-pu-šu. ([1108], rv. 19 ist nach [543], rv. 18 zu ergänzen, [1108] hatte vielleicht noch eine Zeile mehr). Bemerkenswert ist das Schwanken in der Wiedergabe des Eigennamen Ar-ba-a [1108], rv. 15, wofür [543], rv. 14 ar-ba-a-a, [273], rv. 2 hingegen ar-ba-ia. bietet. Ein weiterer Vergleich der Duplikate ermöglicht einige kleine Korrekturen in beiden Texten. So hat [1108] noch etwas mehr vom verstümmelten Anfang erhalten, so dass [543] 4 f. zu lesen ist: ištu ri-e-še as-sa-par Z. 6 f. lautet jetzt: muk at (!)-tu-nu u ^amē¹ bēl pahāti meš i-ti-iz-sa dul-lu ip-ša. Z. 14. wohl is-si-ku-nu (nach 1108, 11) statt i-sak-nu. Z. 15 ff. lässt sich nach [1108] um einige Zeilen ergänzen: la iz-za-zu-u-ni dul-lu la ip-pa-šu-ni uina muh ša taq-bu-ú-ni ma-a šarru la u-ram-ma ur^{ki} lis ša-nam-mu ištu qāt šarri . . li-u a-ki-e ah-har . . lu li-pu-uš. [543], rv. 4 mit [1108], rv. 2 zeigt, dass an ersterer Stelle ina muh maššarti (en.nun) zu lesen ist; ferner ist [1108], rv. 4, nach [543], rv. 4 am Anfang me-tu zu ergänzen. Den bekannten "Pferdeeffuhrsberichten" sind die neuen Texte [1017], [1122], [1153] zuzuzählen, eine Meldung betreffs des Viehstandes enthält [989]. Mit Ablieferung von Getreide scheint sich [1019], soweit erkennbar, zu befassen.⁵⁹ Mehrere, der zuletzt bekannt gewordenen Briefe, handeln von Bauarbeiten so [985] K. 1166 über den Transport von Steinplatten: ¹ma-a a-na ša . . . ²uk-ta-li-im . . . ³iq-ṭi-bi-u ma-a . . . ⁴la ni-qar-ri-bi ú-ma-a ⁵iš elippē an-na-te ⁶II ištu lib-bi-ši-na ⁷ni^(?)-qar-rab ú-ta-ra ⁸aban me-il rv. ¹aban askuppâte meš . . . ²na-me-ri . . . ³a-di elippē meš . . . ⁴u-šak-ša-du-ni ⁵hi-ṭu ša mu a-na . . . šarri be-li-ia . . . Eine Uebersetzung erübrigt sich beim fragmentarischen Zustand der Tafel. Das Brechen von

⁵⁹ Rv. 2 ist vielleicht auch nach obv. 8, 10 imēr še-zēru meš zu lesen, statt imēr kur-ra meš wie die grosse Zahl I (?) M I (?) C vermuten lässt.

Steinen und deren Transport nach Ninive erzählt [1049] S. 393, ¹.....ša ²... [a]-na šarri bēli-ia ³... i-sa-par-u-ni ⁴ina muh-hi-ia ma-a ICL ⁵e-bir-tù ša ^{aban} AD-BAR ⁶lib-tu-qu li-in-tu-hu-ni ⁷a-na ^{a1} ninua lu-bi-lu-ni ⁸an-nu-rig ab-ta-taq ⁹[at-] ta-at-ha a-na ^{a1} ninua ¹⁰[u-še-ba]- al sum-mu a-na ¹¹... ki ša ilu šu-u ¹².... tu-hu. ".... dem Könige, meinem Herrn er geschickt hat. In Bezug auf mich 150⁶⁰ von ^{aban} AD.BAR möge man brechen, aufheben, nach Ninive bringen. Jetzt habe ich sie gebrochen, aufgehoben und nach Ninive lasse ich sie bringen (resp. bringe sie u-ba-al,) wenn."

Zu ^{aban} AD.BAR vgl. CT XIV 5, 25b, u. Meissner SAI 2752. Die Ergänzung at-ta-at-ha nach den Spuren im Hinblick auf die Formen at-tu-uh [652], obv. 15 [437], rv. 8⁶¹, möglich wäre auch an-ta-at-ha, aber weniger wahrscheinlich. [984], ein Brief, der von der Verladung und Aufstellung von Šedufiguren berichtet, könnte mit [420], [579] im Zusammenhang stehen. obv. 4 und 10 liest die Ausgabe ^m zer(!)-ibni, zweifellos die richtige Lesung gegen Bezolds ^m šum-ibni, Catalogue 224, wie ich mich durch Kollation überzeugte. Hierher gehört auch [1104], 82-5-22, 119 eine kurze Meldung über die erfolgte Absendung von Werkleuten. Die Stelle ist auch für die Bedeutung von annurig nicht unwichtig. 2 ff. ²ša šarru be-li iš-pur-an-ni ³an-nu-rig ^{4amēl} rab^mkal-la-pa-ni ^{5amēl} bēl-SAR ⁶ù ^{amēl} šaknu^{nu} meš ⁷ša ^{aban} askuppate i-za-bi-lu-ni-ni rv. ¹ina muh šarri bēli-ia ²u-si-bi-la "deretwegen der König, mein Herr, geschrieben, so habe ich jetzt den Werkmeister, den Zeichner (??)⁶² und die Gehilfen, welche mir Türschwellen herbeibringen, vor dem König, meinem Herrn, bringen lassen."

Die Herbeischaffung (?) von ^{aban} askuppu erwähnt auch [1128], 83-1-18, 108 (Absender Nabū-šum-lišir, wie die Fassung der Einleitungsformel ergibt und auch die Ausgabe richtig ergänzt); obv. 7 ff.: ^{amēl} mār šipri [ša šarri bēli]-ia ^{aban} askuppu ⁹... bar-zu-u-a ¹⁰[a-na] ^{a1}bi-ra-a-ti ¹¹ali ša šarri be-li-ia ¹²ki-i

⁶⁰ e-bir-tu ist unklar; von אַבִּיר, abzuleiten?

⁶¹ Vgl. Ylvisaker, § 6a.

⁶² Ich setze hier S A R = š a ṭ ā r u, ohne auf die Deutung Gewicht legen zu wollen, möglich wäre auch bēl r i k s i, falls nicht überhaupt EN-SAR als Ideogramm für ein Wort zu fassen ist.

il-li-ka ^{13amēl} A SIG(?) -na i-si-šu ¹⁴ki-i aš-ku-nu rv.
¹a-na pa-an šarri ²al-tap-raš-šu u a-du-ú ³a-na-ku ma-
 aš-šar-ti ⁴ša šarri be-lī-ia a-na-aš-šar. “. . . der Bote
 [des Königs] meines [Herrn] . . . Türschwelle . . . ? als er [nach]
 Birat, der Stadt des Königs, meines Herrn gegangen war und ich den
 . . . ihm beigegeben, habe ich ihn zum Könige, meinem Herrn,
 geschickt. Und jetzt halte ich die Wache des Königs, meines
 Herrn.”

Interessant ist der Brief [1051], der die Anfertigung von Königs-
 bildern betrifft. Es waren davon anscheinend 2 Skizzen angefertigt
 worden, die dem König zur Auswahl vorgelegt werden sollten. Der
 Künstler, welcher den einen Entwurf gemacht hatte, suchte nun
 brieflich den Entwurf der Gegenpartei nach Kräften herabzusetzen;
 im Einzelnen ist das Schreiben einiger Ausdrücke wegen nicht leicht
 verständlich. 4 ff. : ṣal-mu šarri ša mi-ṣi-ri ⁵a-na-ku e-te-
 ṣi-ri ⁶ṣal-mu šarri ša kab-bu-si-te ⁷šu-nu e-ta-ap-šu
⁸šarru li-mur ša pa-an ⁹šarri ma-hi-ru-u-ni ¹⁰ina bu-te
 ni-pu-uš ¹¹šarru ana qāte ¹²ana zu-qi-te ¹³ana SIK.KAS
 rv. ¹u-zu-un liš-ku-un ²ša ṣal-mu šarri ša e-pa-šu-
 ni ³¹⁴ḥaṭ-ṭu ina pa-an a-hi-šu ⁴pa-ra-ak-at ⁵idu-šu ina
 si-qi-a-ni-šu ⁶ša-ak-na-at ⁷a-na-ku ištu pa-ni ⁸la-ma-
 gu-ru la e-pa-aš ⁹ina muh bu-un-ni ina muh me-me-ni
¹⁰a-qa-ba-aš-šu-nu ¹¹la i-šam-mu-ni. . . . “Ein Umrissbild
 (?) des Königs zeichne ich, ein Bild des Königs ša kab-bu-si-
 te machen sie. Der König möge (sie) ansehen, was dem König
 gefällt, wollen⁶³ wir in . . . ⁶⁴ausführen! Der König möge auf die
 Hände, auf die zuqite auf . . . rv. sein Augenmerk richten. Was
 das Bild anbetrifft, was jene verfertigen, so ist ein Stab neben seiner⁶⁵
 Seite befestigt (?), seine Hand liegt auf seinen Knien⁶⁶ (?), seit ich

⁶³ Unsere Stelle zeigt zusammen mit manchen anderen wie [149], rv. 12: ki-l ša
 šarru be-lī i-qa-bu-u-ni ina pī-it-te ni-pu-uš, “wie der König, mein
 Herr, befehlen wird, wollen wir tun,” das auch nip-te [503], rv. 12, 16 gegen Meissner
DLZ 1910, 3231, als Kohortativ zu fassen ist vgl. auch Delitzsch, *Gram.*¹, 361.

⁶⁴ Der Vergleich mit der eben zitierten Stelle [149], rv. 12, könnte darauf führen vermun-
 tungsweise hier mit “wollen wir sofort (?) tun” zu übersetzen. Theoretisch möglich
 sind aber auch Lesungen wie ina sir(git)-te od. pu-te mit denen kaum etwas
 anzufangen ist.

⁶⁵ Scil. des Königs.

⁶⁶ Vgl. [453], 16 f.: mār-mārē-šu-nu šarru ina si-qi-šu li-in-tu-uh und
 dazu Behrens 821.

nicht übereinstimme und es nicht verfertige (?), so hören sie nicht, wenn ich über die Gestalt, wenn ich über irgend etwas mit ihnen rede."

Mehr ins Gebiet der inneren Politik und Verwaltung führen Briefe wie [1061], [1046], [1111], [1061] S. 1072 sucht eine Processentscheidung gegen jemanden herbeizuführen. obv. 13 ff.: (das Vorhergehende verstümmelt) an-nu-rig a-na šarri be-li-ia ¹⁵as-sap-ra un-qu ¹⁶liš-p[u]-ru. rv. ¹li-di-nu-ni-šu ²mi-i-mi-ni is-si-šu ³li-ip-qid-du ⁴di-in-šu li-pu-šu. "Jetzt habe ich zum Könige, meinem Herrn, geschickt. Ein Befehlsschreiben möge man absenden, ihm einhändigen, jemanden ihm begeben, seinen Process führen." [1046] S. 343 anscheinend von einem Beamten abgesandt, meldet unter Anderen eine Gefangennahme obv. 1 ff.: ¹..... šarri be-li-iá ².... nu ša šarru bēli ma ilāni ^{meš} ni ⁴ša šarri bēli-a e-tap-šu ina qāti-ia ⁵it-tuq-ta ki-i ša šarru bēli ⁶iš-pur-an-ni e-pa-aš ina muh ⁷šarri bēli-a ú-še-ba-la-aš-šu ⁸ina muh ^{a1} ku-lu-man-a-a ša šarru bēli ⁹iš-pur-an-ni ma-a di-ib-bi ¹⁰ṭābūte ^{meš} is-si-šu-nu du-ub-bu ¹¹ka-a-a-ma-nu di-ib-bi ṭābūte ^{meš} ¹²is-si-e-šu-nu a-da-bu-ub ¹³.... ra-te-šu-nu ... man ^{amēl} ṣābē ^{meš} rv. ... ².... kid ².. ni tuk-ka-nu ^{3amēl} bēl-ali ša ^{a1} ur-ia-ka ⁴ki-i ^{amēl} rabūti ^{meš} ištu pa-ni-e-šu ⁵e-ti-qu-u-ni it-tal-ka ⁶ina pa-ni-ia ri-ih-te ⁷ma-da-te na-ša ina muh ^{amēl} rabūti ^{meš} ⁸ú-bal a-na ^{amēl} rabūti ^{meš} ⁹ša šarri bēli-a šulmu mu ¹⁰a-na ^{māt} el-li-pi e-tar-bu "....
..... die Götter des Königs, meines Herrn, haben es bewirkt, er ist in meine Hände gefallen. Wie der König, mein Herr, geschrieben hat, tue ich, vor den König, meinen Herrn, lasse ich ihn bringen. Was die Kulumanäer anbelangt, deretwegen der König, mein Herr, geschrieben: 'sprich freundliche Worte mit ihnen' beständig rede ich freundliche Worte mit ihnen Leute rv.
..... Der Stadtvorsteher von Uriaka, sowie die Grossen von ihm fortgezogen waren, kam zu mir, den Rest der Abgabe bringt er, zu den Grossen trägt er (sie), die Grossen des Königs, meines Herrn, sind heil; ins Land Ellipi sind sie eingezogen."

In [1111] 83-1-18, 56 scheint Bēl-usātu, der königliche Herdenverwalter, eine Klage wegen ungerechter Gefangensetzung eines

seiner Untergebenen vorzubringen. obv. 1 ff.: 'a-na muh pi-i
 2ša^m zil-la-a a-gan-na 3ša-bit ša lā šarri i-ma-ti 'gab-
 bi ša 4i-bu-ti-šu-nu 5ip-pu-šu ù ša šarri 6u-maš-ša-ru
 7šarru ki-i ša i-li-'u li-pu-uš a-na-ku 8ù ahhē meš-e-a
 10... ni-ni ... rv. 1ù a-na ... ša šarri šak-nu ina
 pi-i-šu 2i-qab-bi um-ma 3ša pi-ia šarru liš-me 4la-pa-
 an^m na-di-nu 5pa-li-ih šarri lip-qid-su (Trennungsstrich)
 6bēl-ú-sa-tu 7amēl re'u LID.GUD.ZUN⁶⁷ ša šarri. "Was
 die Aussage des Zillā anbetrifft, so ist er jetzt gefangen. Ohne
 Eingreifen des Königs stirbt er. Alles, was ihnen beliebt, tun sie,⁶⁸
 die Sache des Königs vernachlässigen sie, der König tue, wie es ihm
 gefällt. Ich und meine Brüder rv. und zu des
 Königs ist in seinem Munde, er spricht: 'meine Aussage möge der
 König hören.' Dem Nadinu, der dem König ergeben, möge er ihn
 unterstellen. Bēl-usātu königlicher Rinder(?) hirt."—[1110] 83-1-18,
 55 könnte einen Hinweis auf die Eide, die dem König geleistet
 wurden, enthalten, obv. 19 ff.: a-ki-i ša i-na lib-bi a-di-e[
 [šaṭ-ru?] 2ma-a ša a-na imni il-la-ak ma-a ša
 a-na šumēli il-la-ak

Bei Erwähnung der Eide sei noch auf den bekannten Eidschwur
 der assyrischen Grossen für Asurbanipal hingewiesen, der von
 Peiser *MVAG* III/6 (1898) 16 ff. in Umschrift publiziert worden ist
 und jetzt in Neuausgabe vorliegt. Harper hat nämlich diesen
 Text (82-5-22, 130), der aber keinesfalls als Brief angesehen werden
 kann, unter Nummer 1105 seiner Ausgabe nochmals herausgegeben.
 Nichtsdestoweniger sind Harper's Korrekturen des früher publi-
 zierten Textes nicht ohne gewisse Wichtigkeit. Im Folgenden sind
 die Abweichungen beider Texte vermerkt. obv. 1. bēl uṣur P.,
 nach H. unwahrscheinlich; obv. 2. P. u ilāni, H. vielmehr mi
 ilāni, obv. 3 P. ū-um, H. ūmu^{mu}; obv. 9. P. ni-il-ta-ṣi,
 H.'s ni-il-ta-kan (!) zweifellos richtig. obv. 16. P. ni-nam-du
 ù a-na^m asur-ban-apli H. ni-nam-du ši ma a-na^m
 asur-ban-apli; obv. 21 P. la bel ša uzni-i-ni, H. lā bēl
 sa (!!)-lam (!)-i-ni zweifellos richtig; obv. 23 P. ni-di-ik-
 ku-u-ma ša, H. ni-di-ik-ku-u-ma it(!)-ti, obv. 37 P.
 hu harrān, H. hu ka (!) harrān; H.'s rv. 1 meš ša fehlt

⁶⁷ Vgl. Meissner *SAI* 6656, 11165.⁶⁸ Scil. die Beamten des Königs.

bei Peiser. Von Bedeutung ist die Abweichung in rv. 12 f. wo P. bietet *il sin na-an-na-ru šami-e u iršitim ... e-kur u ekal ... ri ba nu si*, H. hingegen rv. 12, *e-kur u e-kal is (!)-ri-ba la (=nu) u ...*. Da hier von einer Strafe seitens Sin die Rede ist, liegt es nicht ferne, worauf mich Landsberger aufmerksam macht, dieses *is-ri-ba = is-ru-ba* aufzufassen, eine Krankheit, die ja immer in den Flüchen bei Sin angedroht wird. Es würde damit die auch beliebte Lesung *is-sub-ba* fallen und die Ableitung des Wortes von *šarāpu* (Boissier Diss. 33) an Wahrscheinlichkeit gewinnen. rv. 19 P. ¹¹ *Za-ma-ma bel tiš-qu-u ša*, H. ¹¹ *Za-ma-ma bēl ša (!)-qu-u ša*. rv. 24 P. ¹¹ *ištar a-ši-bat Arba-il*, H. ¹¹ *ištar a ... il*.

Zu den wenigen Briefen rein privaten Inhaltes, die in der Sammlung Aufnahme gefunden und grösstenteils übersetzt wurden, wie [215], [229], [527], [943] zählt auch [1162] 83-1-18, 284, der von der Rückgabe der vielleicht zwangsweise (wegen Schulden?) in fremden Dienste befindlichen Frau des Adressaten handelt. obv. 1 ff.:
 ¹*i-na muh aš[šat-k]a* ²*ša taš-pu-ra* ³*a-du-u al-ta-par* ⁴*a-na m ilu-pi-i-ušur* ⁵*aššat-ka u-tar* ⁶*i-nam-dak-ka*. "Wegen deines Weibes, deretwegen du geschrieben, so habe ich jetzt geschickt, an *Ilu-pi-i-ušur* gibt er⁶⁹ dein Weib zurück, (der) wird sie dir geben.

Anschliessend an die obigen Bemerkungen sei eine Anzahl neuer oder seltener Worte aus den Briefen zusammengestellt, auf deren Bedeutung gerade für das *Lexikon* man ja schon seit langem aufmerksam geworden. Besonders Johnston hat in zahlreichen Artikeln neue Worte bestimmt und Behrens eine Aufzählung neuer in Bd. I–VIII vorkommenden Worte gegeben. Die folgende kleine Liste die keine Vollständigkeit beansprucht, beschränkt sich auf das Material in Bd. IX–XI des Harper'schen Briefcorpus.

^{ab an} AD. BAR 1049, obv. 5.—AD. SAL 977, rv. 11.—*ubusu* 1148, obv. 9: *ina zumri-ia u-bu-si i-tah-ti-liq* (doppelte t-Form von *halāqu*)—*udru* 984, obv. 5: *ištēn^{en} ud-ru ina pāni-šu.—ikku* "Not" "Unglück" 992, obv. 8, vgl. 46, rv. 16, Behrens 96—*uku* (?) 1002, rv. 11: *dib-bi-ia u-ku* (?) -te *i-gab-bu.—amāt a-bi-'il-ti* "Schmähwort" 1106, rv. 15, vgl. *amāt*

⁶⁹ Scil. der Mann, dem sie verpfändet war.

a-bi-il-ti 716, obv. 27.—annurig "jetzt," häufig, vgl. besonders 980, rv. 1, 1104, obv. 3.—battata-a-a 992, rv. 10, "der Reihe nach," "nacheinander" (?) vgl. Behrens 14, Ylvisaker 55.

diatu 1149, rv. 10: di-a-ti-ia ša-ak-ki-il.—zuqitu 1051, obv. 12.

haramama "hierauf" 1065, obv. 4, ha-ra-am-mi-ma 1149, obv. 10. Das Wort auch 679, obv. gegen Weidner, BA VIII, 4, 16.

KAS 981, rv. 2 f.: u-ma-a an-nu-rig II KAS-meš-šu-ma itti (KI) KAS-meš a-ša-ri-du-te a-na šarri bēli-ia u-si-bi-la. "und jetzt habe ich zwei seiner . . . zusammen mit den früheren . . . dem Könige, meinem Herrn bringen lassen."—kadu 1114, rv. 5, vgl. 280, obv. 8.—kalāmu: taklimtu kullumu 1097, obv. 8 f, rv. 3, vgl. rv. 7: taklimtu rv. 5. -kinšu 912, rv. 1, vgl. obv. 14 ff.: u be-li i-di ki-i ki-en-šu ul ma-za-a-ka kapāru 1077, obv. 6: V kak ka-pa-a-ru bīt ku-tal¹¹ nergal, rv. 6f: si-da-a-te eri ša ka-pa-a-ri, vgl. rv. 9 (zu kapāru vgl. Meissner Supl. 49^b).—kab-bu-si-te 1051, obv. 5. -lapātu 1134, rv. 1: ittu-šu la-ap-ta-at a-dan-niš "sein Zeichen ist äusserst ungünstig."

madādu birti ēnā 1042, obv. 8: 1073, rv. 14 f. -m. birti uznā 1142, rv. 2.

^aban me-il 985, obv. 8.—mardutu 1094, obv. 9. -mišīru 1051, obv. 4.

nubtu 1117, obv. 11, vgl. 10 f. ardāni ^{meš} ša šarri bēli-ia a-na nu-ub-tu šar bab-ili ^{ki} a-na ^m na-ad-nu ul-te-bi-li. -na'alu I/3 "Zuflucht suchen" (?) 1034, rv. 5, 6.

padaku 1070, obv. 11, vgl. 10 f: ina lib-bi ištēn ^{en} alāni ^{meš-ni}-ia pa-da-ku ip-te-te; padakate, ebenda, rv. 11. -pasāqu "durchschneiden" 1094, obv. 6. -pāšu "wegnehmen" 992, obv. 21. -piširtu 1126, obv. 12.

qubtu 988, rv. 3 f.: qu-ba-te-šu-nu il-la-ku-ni. (vgl. Muss-Arnolt 907a).—¹² qiršu 1096, rv. 11 vgl. 784, rv. 6, 10 (Behrens 51²). -qikuttu 1094, obv. 10.

rabābu 1127, 7 vgl. 6 ff.: lū lā i-nu-uh lū lā u-šar-ba-ab [be]-li lil-li-ka ina ^{a1} diri lu-šib. "mein Herr möge ja nicht ruhig sein, ja nicht . . . er möge kommen, in Der wohnen." (zu rabābu vgl. Meissner, Supl. 87^b, Delitzsch, *HWB* 608^b.)

SIK.KAS 1051, obv. 13.—siqu (siqiani) “Knie” 1051, rv. 5.
—suqqu (=sunku) 1052, obv. 3.

šaddagdiš: ina šad-dag-diš 1114, rv. 2: ša-ad-da-giš
1154, obv. 4. -šapal qāte “heimlich” (Ylvisaker 67, vgl. 411, obv.
12) 1058, rv. 11.

tukkanu 1034, rv. 7: 1046, rv. 2. -tukkātu 1136, rv. 6 f.:
𒀭 bēl-ibni tuk-ka-a-ti a-na . . . ki-i tuk-ka-a-ti a-na
muh-hi-šu-nu

TEXTUAL NOTES ON THE LETTERS OF THE SARGON PERIOD

BY LEROY WATERMAN

The following textual comments attempt to cover the chief points where Harper's Texts have thus far been brought in question and consist of a comparison of the variant readings with the originals in the British Museum. Different readings in portions restored have been omitted, as these involve no comparison with the originals. For convenience the order followed is that of Harper's numbering.

H. 5 (K. 583, Obv. 15) Delitzsch *BA* I 627 reads . . . ili for ina pa-an, but compare Obv. 15, note 6, which recognizes an omitted sign before . . . ili, "das am meisten mit *GUR* Ähnlichkeit hat." The form in question seems to consist pretty plainly of one sign written over another (1).¹ I would read with H. ina pa-an.

H. 6 (K. 595, Obv. 7) van Gelderen *BA* IV 505 transliterates da-ab-b[a]-ni. The traces in H. permit this, but the tablet has one more horizontal stroke (2) than in H., which makes the reading ba impossible; Rev. 11 van Gelderen *BA* IV 503 reads us-sa-bi[l]. Behrens *ABB* 91 questions what sign is to be restored, whether rik, li, or some other. The difficulty is due to a typographical error. A perpendicular wedge has been omitted in H. or has been drawn in the process of printing. The sign (3) is quite surely rik. Rev. 14 Behrens *ABB* 91 corrects pi to ši and reads a-du ištên li'mi-šu for a-du diš-pi-šu. The form consists of one sign written over another, but whether it is composed of ši written over pi or vice versa, it is impossible to determine from the tablet. The context must decide.

H. 23 (K. 602, Obv. 15). The tablet has been cleaned since first published, and two strokes in addition to the traces given in H. can be seen (4). Compare Behrens' assertion, *ABB* 98, that the traces

¹ Figures in parentheses refer to cuneiform notes at the end of this paper.

point to tarbašu. The traces do lend themselves to tarbašu. This line extends three millimeters beyond the beginning of the previous line and two millimeters beyond the beginning of the line following. Obv. 16 Zimmern *ABB* 98 reads zi-in-na-tu for nam-in-na-tu with Bezold *ZA* II 446. This typographical error is probably due to the nam just above. The correction is to be accepted.

H. 29 (K. 1204, Obv. 9) Behrens *ABB* 34 proposes an or nu for maš in ̣ur-ba-maš. It is better to read an instead of bar, maš. The sign as it stands can be taken in either way.

H. 36 (K. 1032, Obv. 7) Behrens *ABB* 29 queries whether the fifth sign (uncertain) may not be ra and reads: ^{al} ̣ar-ra-an. The traces plainly do not lend themselves to ra, but rather to ur. The text in H. lacks one perpendicular at the right, as well as an additional horizontal wedge beyond (5). Rev. 6 Behrens *ABB* 29 remarks: "Die Schreibung ist sehr absonderlich." There seems to be no doubt, however, as to the correctness of the text in H. Rev. 9 Behrens *ABB* 29 is inclined to read bēl a-[gi-e] or ̣arran for the third and fourth sign. The second sign, EN in H., is badly rubbed. It seems, however, to be quite certainly ēš (sin), followed by traces of a sign erased. The third sign is a scribal, not typographical error for EN=bēl. There is also beyond a some very badly rubbed, though fairly certain traces. For the entire line cf. (6). Rev. 11 Behrens *ABB* 29 reads ni-ip-̣i for ni-ur-̣i. This typographical correction is to be accepted.

H. 43 (K. 122, Rev. 10) van Gelderen *BA* IV 516 (note) reads KU-U-šAG for KU-šAG. This correction is to be accepted. Cf. Rev. 16 and 21. Rev. 17 van Gelderen *BA* IV 514 reads wa-lu-ub for pi-lu-ub, but the text requires gal-lu-ub, already noted by Harper *AJSL* X 200, "At present I am inclined to regard the pi as an incorrect reading of gal. It will be necessary to consult the original of this difficult text again."

H. 47 (K. 979, Obv. 8) Harper *AJSL* X 196 reads ri-in-ku for ri-LUGAL-ku. This correction is to be accepted.

H. 52 (K. 80, Rev. 1) Streck *AJSL* XXII 218, note 29, calls attention to S. A. Smith's reading sa-si-̣a-na for sa-si-̣a-ni in H. The sign in question is to be read na with Smith, although the

form is peculiar. Rev. 10: tu-ša-lik. According to H. (footnote) lik is written over ba. Behrens *ABB* 51 questions which is superimposed. Either one is possible. It is a very deeply cut, clear writing of both signs.

H. 56 (K. 649, Obv. 7) Behrens *ABB* 46 reads ma-aḫ-lu for iḫ aḫ-lu in H.; iḫ, however, stands in the text and corresponds to iḫ in Rev. 5; ma seems impossible, the third upper horizontal stroke would have been too high. The sign is deeply and plainly cut.

H. 86 (K. 660, Rev. 5) Johnston *JAOS* XVIII 169 transliterates re[šni], and remarks that the traces indicate si, but might be iḫ, and that ni is omitted because of the following ni. I would read provisionally ri-e-šu (7); ri is written over an erasure, e is broken, and šu rubbed and broken.

H. 89 (K. 515, Rev. 5) Johnston *JAOS* XVIII 173 reads tu-pi-iḫ for tu-ši-iḫ, followed by Behrens *ABB* 54. I would read pi with Johnston. It seems quite certain, however, that the scribe first wrote ši, which he then altered to pi. It differs very much from pi in Rev. 7 and Obv. 12. Harper had already suggested the above correction; cf. *AJSL* X 199, "My text reads ši, but I am inclined to think that this character is pi."

H. 94 (K. 1147+1947, Rev. 1) Streck *AJSL* XXII 220, note 41, transliterates Ru-ḫa-ḫa-a ša and emends ša to a. According to the footnote in H. the last sign of Rev. 1 is perhaps a. The text (8) is clearly as given in H., which is plainly meant for a, as this letter is in the Assyrian script.

H. 97 (K. 4770, Obv. 7) Behrens *ABB* 46 reads i-su-ri for i-su-ḫu. Behrens' correction of this typographical error is to be accepted.

H. 110 (K. 576, Rev. 6) Behrens *ABB* 17 reads li-bi me-e^{pl} for li-kaš-šip mē. I would read with H. a^{pl}. The mē has been rubbed, but I cannot see any cut strokes before the a.

H. 113 (K. 501, Obv. 13) Behrens *ABB* 40 reads ma-ṣar for iḫ, plus a broken sign. This correction, already made by Harper, *AJSL* XV 142 is to be accepted. I am sorry to be compelled to state that Behrens, in many places, either does not know the literature on the *Letters*, or fails to give credit to others whose statements he has accepted.

H. 114 (K. 538, Rev. 10) Behrens *ABB* 85 remarks on ta-bu-u-ni: "Die Endung -uni . . . ist sehr auffällig." This reading is also plainly and unmistakably correct.

H. 137 (K. 467, Obv. 10) Jastrow *RBA* XIV 518 reads lum-nu for lum-kur. This correction is to be accepted.

H. 138 (K. 469, Rev. 13) Johnston *JAOS* XVIII 169 reads u-qa-ib-u(?) -ni for u-qa-ib-ni, and remarks "The enclitic ni cannot be joined to the verb without a union vowel (Del. *Assyr. Gram.* p. 79β). . . . The insertion of u improves both the sense and the construction." The text in H. is correct, there is no u.

H. 141 (K. 481, Rev. 3) Jastrow *RBA* XIV 532 reads "fourteen" for "four" and remarks, "Bei H. fehlt der Winkelhaken." The text is correct. One can see traces of u through which erasure lines have been drawn. These extend into the ud preceding (9).

H. 149 (K. 540, Obv. 8) Meissner *SAW* 46a reads (ku(!) zip-pi for ki-zip-pi, followed by Behrens *ABB* 33. The sign is correct in H. and accurately reproduced. It corresponds exactly to the sign after Akkad Obv. 9, which of course must be ki.

H. 167 (K. 582, Rev. 19) Behrens *ABB* 10 remarks concerning ut-ru, "Es hat beinahe den Anschein als ob statt ut vielmehr dā (kal) zu lesen sei." The text in H. is undoubtedly correct.

H 201 (K. 690, Rev. 5) Zimmern's suggestion in *ABB* 31, that ila'uni may have stood after bêli-ia is to be accepted. I have had the tablet cleaned and one can now see ša šarru be-li i-la-[u]-ni. The ni is broken and rubbed; ia does not stand in the text; cf. Obv. 4.

H. 281 (K. 13, Obv. 30) van Gelderen *BA* IV 528 deliberately leaves out the first sign, ri, in his translation. Johnston *JAOS* XVIII 141 reads ta(?). I cannot accept the reading ta. Nevertheless a sign is undoubtedly to be read though it is on a corner edge and badly damaged. However, it does not seem to me that the traces lend themselves to ri of H. and of Pinches (cf. IV, R. 52, No. 2), but rather to an imperfectly cut la (10). It is not in the scope of these notes to go beyond textual matters. I would, however, only call attention to the effect of la upon the translation in giving force and clearness to the speech of Ummanaldaš. For

translations cf. Johnston *JAOS* XVIII 139-40 and van Gelderen *BA* IV 528-29.

H. 328 (K. 638, Obv. 12) Delattre *PSBA* XXIII 52 reads ^{amēl} Kal-di for ^{amēl} Kal-ki. Delattre's correction of this typographical error is to be accepted.

H. 344 (83-1-18, 28, Rev. 1) Klauber *AB* 53 reads, ba-ri-ki-ili for ba-ri-di-ili. This correction is to be accepted.

H. 346 (Bu. 89-4-26, 9, Obv. 3) Streck *AJSL* XXII 214 reads ^{al} kak-zi for ^{al} kak-nam. Streck's correction of this typographical error is to be accepted.

H. 353 (82-5-22, 169, Obv. 5) Behrens *ABB* 74 remarks that the ideogram for aribu is given more correctly by Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 1841, than in H. Bezold's reading is typographically better than in H.

H. 356 (Bu. 89-4-26, 160, Obv. 20) Behrens' remark, *ABB* 71 "dagegen sind die Spuren die auf nu deuten wohl falsch" is to be accepted. On the other hand, his endeavor to read ri instead is questionable. The traces are on a corner edge and badly rubbed, but there are more than are given by Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 1929, or in H. It is difficult to tell whether or not there is an upright wedge-head at the juncture of the lines at the right (11).

H. 358 (Rm. 76, Obv. 6) van Gelderen *BA* IV 510 regards ^{ila} Ninib as a dittography. Jastrow *RBA* XIV 540 remarks, "Harper hat ein zweites Ninib copiert." The text in H. is correct. Obv. 8 van Gelderen *BA* IV 510 reads a[ši-]bu-te and regards ši as omitted by mistake. The text is correct. The error is scribal. Obv. 17 van Gelderen *BA* IV 510 reads, iḫ-ḫa-ka for iḫ-nak(?) -ka. The sign interrogated is badly scratched, but nak(?) cannot be ka. The top stroke of nak is very plain, as also are the two perpendicular wedges inside. Nak alone satisfies the writing. Obv. 24, e-me (cf. van Gelderen's note, *BA* IV 511), is now correctly read nišê by Harper; cf. Klauber *AJSL* XXVII 332^{10a}. Rev. 9 van Gelderen *BA* IV 511 points out a dittography in bêli. The text is correct. The error is scribal. Rev. 12 van Gelderen *BA* IV 511 reads ina libbi ša-da-a u-kan-ni-šu-u-ni for ina libbi ša ša-a-u-i-ni-šu-u-ni. The correction is to be accepted. Rev. 13 van Gelderen *BA* IV 511 reads ia for za. The thought

undoubtedly requires *ia*, but *za* gives the exact form on the tablet. If the scribe ever added a third upper stroke on the right it has been so completely effaced as to leave no incision whatever; cf. H. 964, Rev. 7, footnote. Rev. 14 van Gelderen *BA* IV 509 supplies *mu* and reads *ṭe[mu]*. The text is correct. The error is scribal. Rev. 15 van Gelderen *BA* IV 511 adds *[ni]* to *iš-pur-an*. The text in H. is correct. There is no trace of *ni*, after *an*, on the tablet. Rev. 16 van Gelderen *BA* IV 512 reads *ia* for *ni(?)* in H. The traces favor *ia* (12).

H. 366 (82-5-22, 96, Rev. 2) Behrens *ABB* 46 reads *i-pa-aš-šar* for *i-pa-pa-šar*. Behrens' correction of this typographical error is to be accepted.

H. 378 (83-1-18, 11, Rev. 5) Behrens *ABB* 99 remarks: "Ob pittit zu lesen, ist sehr fraglich." The text is correctly reproduced in H. (13). Cf. H. 917, Rev. 12.

H. 380 (Rm. 2, 3, Obv. 7) van Gelderen *BA* IV 522 reads *u-a* for *ellu*. The portion taken as *u* is very closely joined to what follows (14), and on account of the spacing lends itself better to the reading in H. The reading can only be determined by the context.

H. 399 (67-4-2, 1, Obv. 7) Delitzsch *BA* I 236 correctly reads *ša taš-pu-ra*. The line is omitted in H.

H. 401 (83-1-18, 30, Obv. 10) Behrens *ABB* 72 reads *pa-an* for *maš-an*. The lower wedge is indistinct and looks like an erasure. I would, however, read *pa* from the context and regard it as a scribal error. Obv. 10, the first sign is plainly correct and the interrogation mark is to be deleted.

H. 407 (83-1-18, 40, Rev. 1) Jastrow *RBA* XIV 518 reads *lum-nu* for *mi-nu*. The traces in the text (15) may be taken in either way, to be determined only by the context.

H. 408 (Rm. 2, 1, Rev. 11) van Gelderen *BA* IV 542 reads *liš* for *ši*. As the line stands (16) *ši* is plainly in the text. But inasmuch as there are several erasures in the line and especially since the scribe utilized part of an erasure in writing *mu* (cf. note), so in the following sign, the horizontal wedge of *ši*, which is quite plain and shows little or no signs of erasure, was probably intended to be erased. The line, however, is to be read *a ṭe-mu liš-kun*.

H. 409 (Rm. 2, 2, Obv. 3). The text is broken. The line is incomplete and should have been so indicated in H. Cf. Klauber's note, *AB*, 67.

H. 414 (Rm. 77, Obv. 11) van Gelderen *BA* IV 526 reads *ki-it-ki-te-e* for *ki-it-ku(?) -te-e*. The text is badly rubbed, but what can be seen (17) seems to favor *ku* rather than *ki*, especially in view of the writings of *ku* on this tablet.

H. 426 (80-7-19, 17, Obv. 11) Strassmaier *AV* pp. 811, 978 reads *li-iḫ-ḫa* for *li-ik-liš* in H. Johnston *AJSL* XVII 150 reads with Strassmaier. I would accept Strassmaier-Johnston's reading. The sign is written over an erasure (18). Cf. H., footnote.

H. 438 (K. 177, Obv. 7, and Rev. 4) Zimmern *ABB* 7 remarks on "š*i*-da-da: "Dafür wird im Orig. wohl "š*i*-sig-sig (Zeichen arqu) stehen." I cannot accept Zimmern's correction. The text is plainly correct.

H. 444 (K. 645, Obv. 13) van Gelderen *BA* IV 524 questions whether *ali* in H. should not rather be *lib*. The traces in H. are correct, whatever the reading. Obv. 13 Johns *AJSL* XXII 229 reads *kap-pa-ri* for *bel ut-ri*. I have had the tablet cleaned, but I can only read *bêl* as in H. It is true the two wedges at the foot are both written inside the perpendiculars (19), which naturally favors *kap*, but there seems to be no room above for a third wedge-head. Also *bêl* in Obv. 3 is written in the same manner.

H. 450 (K. 898, Rev. 4) *la-ku šu-tu-u-ni*. The text is correct. Cf. Behrens *ABB* 85.

H. 458 (K. 1122, Obv. 8) Behrens *ABB* 53 reads *man-da-at-ti* for *u-da-at-ti*. In my copy of H. the first sign of Obv. 8 has been pulled out altogether. Of course *man* is to be read, which is plainly on the original. For other examples of press pullings cf. H. 222 (K. 186, Obv. 8), in *a lib-bi*. *lib* lacks the three perpendiculars; also in Obv. 11 *ma* of *ma-a* has been pulled.

H. 464 (K. 1519, Obv. 19) Behrens *ABB* 3 reads *iḫ-bu-nu* for *aḫ-bu-nu*. The text in H. is correct.

H. 473 (81-2-4, 65, Rev. 6) Klauber *AB* 21 reads *be*, bad for *bab*. I am inclined to read with H. This sign differs from the *be* below Rev. 19, in that the horizontal stroke is prolonged in line 6. I would not regard the reading *be* as excluded.

H. 493 (83-1-18, 13, Rev. 27) Behrens *ABB* 65 questions the reading ak-kud-di-ni. The text in H. is correct.

H. 496 (K. 474, Rev. 6) Behrens *ABB* 68 reads tim-ma for ina ud-ma. The correction is to be accepted (20).

H. 506 (K. 678, Obv. 16, Rev. 5) Klauber *AB* 9 reads gab-bu for mu-bu. This typographical correction is to be accepted.

H. 514 (K. 477, Rev. 12) Behrens *ABB* 30 reads du-ul-lu for ^{ilu} ul-lu. The text is broken, but the reading du (21) is to be accepted.

H. 516 (81-7-27, 31, Obv. 11) Streck *AJSL* XXII 215 proposes to read the first sign uš. The form on the tablet is correctly reproduced in H. and, though unsatisfactory, it cannot be uš.

H. 517 (82-5-22, 91, Obv. 11) Zimmern *AB* 13 reads ṭa-ba-át for da-ba-bu in H. I have had the tablet cleaned, and I would read tu (22) rather than with either H. or Z. The sign runs over into šarru of Rev. 6.

H. 518 (83-1-18, 27, Obv. 11) Behrens *ABB* 19 reads ḫu-l[u-pu], and remarks: "aber zu l[u] stimmen die Spuren bei Harper keinesfalls." The traces stand plainly as in H., hence the restoration lu is impossible.

H. 520 (K. 680, Obv. 7 and 11) Streck *AJSL* XXII 216 reads ak for Toffteen's ^{ilu} ak. The sign in H. is neither one (23), but a typographical error for ak, i.e., the first perpendicular wedge should be deleted.

H. 552 (K. 640, Rev. 6) Toffteen *AJSL* XXI 89 reads Ba-ḫar-ri. Johns *AJSL* XXII 229 reads correctly, with the text, Ba-ḫar-ri.

H. 553 (K. 659, Rev. 9) Behrens *ABB* 100 reads II šu for III šu. This correction is probably to be accepted. The text is badly damaged; only the lower ends of two wedges are visible. From the spacing, however, one could read III as well as II if the context demanded it.

H. 576 (K. 1009, Obv. 8) Klauber *AB* 69 reads te for tu, but the text is correct. Tu stands plainly on the tablet, although with Klauber one would expect te.

H. 649 (81-2-4, 110, Rev. 5) Johns *AJSL* XXII 231 reads

correctly šu-ḫu-pa for Toffteen's misreading šu-ḫu-ra (cf. *AJSL* XXI 99). The text in H. is correct.

H. 652 (80-7-19, 22, Obv. 7) Behrens *ABB* 25 remarks: "Vor dem Personendeterminativ fehlt wohl nichts (?)" Ašur is written directly under pur above. Hence there is space for more than the broken determinative (24).

H. 685 (81-2-4, 96, Rev. 5) Streck *AJSL* XXII 208 remarks: "Vor ak-ta-la bietet H. noch einen schrägen Keil; sollte letzterer ungenau für AŠ stehen, mithin die Stadt Aššur (AŠ) gemeint sein?" This sign can only be a division-mark.

H. 688 (80-7-19, 21, Obv. 8) Behrens *ABB* 78 reads: BE-GIŠ-BI for BE-GIŠ-RIG(?). The text in H. is plainly correct and the interrogation is to be deleted.

H. 733 (81-2-4, 113, Rev. 9) Klauber *AB* 31 reads mašar-tu for mašar ali. This correction is to be accepted.

H. 755 (83-1-18, 122, Obv. 6 and 16) Klauber *AB* 73, note 3, compares the variant reading in Godbey's list, *AJSL* XXI 81. The text in H. in both cases is correct, and Godbey is to be corrected accordingly.






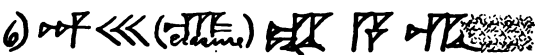

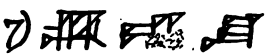








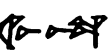



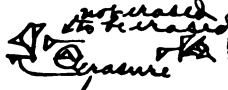


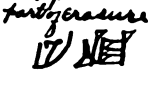

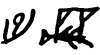
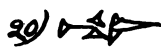


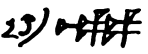
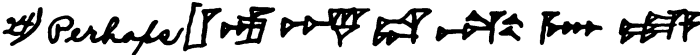




H. 767 (83-1-18, 75, Obv. 9) Klauber *AB* 7 reads er meš for bi. The text in H. is correct. The erasure is complete, the bi is very plain and deeply cut.

H. 789 (K. 1964, Obv. 7) Streck *AJSL* XXII 221 reads šal-lu-ki-e-a for šal-lu-ki-si-a. Streck's correction is to be accepted.

H. 802 (81-7-27, 39, Obv. 6) Streck *AJSL* XXII 217 suggests am for the fourth sign. The text is correctly reproduced in H.

H. 858 (K. 822, Obv. 16) Behrens *ABB* 54 corrects ši, lim to pi, and reads ta-ḫap-pi for ta-kal-lim; cf. Harper *AJSL* XIX 231. The correction of Behrens is to be accepted.

H. 869 (81-2-4, 120, Obv. 6) Jastrow *Babyloniaca* III 3 p. 227 remarks upon "the gloss which Harper's copy, however, does not indicate as such." (1) The text in H. is given exactly as in the original; (2) H. has reproduced the indenture which in this case shows the gloss; (3) the script is identical with that of the rest of the tablet; (4) it is not smaller, nor is it written above or below the word to be explained, as is usual in most glosses.

- 1)  2)  3) 
 4)  5) 
 6)  (cuneiform) 
 7)  8)  9) 
 10)  11)  12) 
 13)    
 14)  15)  16)  ^{erasure}
 17)  ^{erased}  ^{erased}  ^{erased}  ^{erasure}
 18)  19)  20) 
 21)  22)  23) 
 24) Perhaps     

LONDON
 September 11, 1911

This article was in type before the appearance of Dr. Ylvisaker's excellent monograph, *Zur babylonischen und assyrischen Grammatik*, and hence no notice could be taken of the readings given by him on pp. 75-84.—R. F. H.

Contributed Notes

THE ASSYRIAN ROOT *raṣānu*, HEBREW רָצַח

In Assyrian we have to do with two roots *raṣānu* (I) to murmur, rumble, and (II) to be dignified, important. Root I occurs to my knowledge only in *Cuneiform Tablets of the British Museum*, XXV, 16, 26, where Adad has the epithet *murtaṣnu* synonym of *rāgimu* and *mur-ta-i-mu*.¹ *mur-ta-aṣ-nu*, I² Part. of *raṣānu* is probably connected with the Syriac and Arabic root رَضَحَ to murmur. The Assyrian replaces the emphatic dental *t* by the alveolar emphatic *ṣ*. The same phenomenon is exhibited by the word *ḫaṣāru* to bind, identical with Hebrew קָשַׁר. The change has probably been brought about by the forward and backward assimilating power of the liquid *r*. Note the change of *s* > *ṣ* and *t* > *t* brought about by the *r*-sound in Arabic dialects, cited in Brockelmann's *Vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 155.

Root II occurs only in the adjective *ruṣṣunu*, important, dignified, which Professor Prince connected with Hebrew רָצַח "honorable, noble." This explanation of Prince has not received the recognition which it deserves either among Assyriologists or Hebraists. The difficulty has been that the Assyrian grammarians apparently connected *ruṣṣunu* with a group of words for "important," etc., as well as with a group for "bright, clean," etc., and consequently the lexicons give no definite information concerning the word. In fact the Assyrian grammarians do not really connect the word with a group meaning "bright," and the only legitimate meaning to be assigned to the word is "dignified, important," as Prince maintained. For *ruṣṣunu* the grammarians give the following information. Sumerian GAL² = *ruṣṣunu* syn. of *malû*, full, Syl. C I, 41. [ru]ṣṣunu = *iṣānu* [variant *ruṣṣunu* = *ḫabtu*], "mighty, dignified." CT, XVIII, 27, 19. A different form of the word is *ur-zu-nu* = *ḫarradu*, "mighty, heroic," *ibid.*, 7, 30. *ru-uṣ-ṣu-nu* = *ba-nu-u*, *mu-us-su-u*, in a list of words for "mighty" *elum*, *ṣi-it-[pu-]ṣu*, "valiant," *ibid.*, 18, K. 4587 obv. 5 f.³ It has been erroneously supposed that *banû* and *mussû* are words for "clean, washed," but this is not at all probable in this instance. *mussû* is here the same word as *massû*, "chief, leader," a loan-word from MAS

¹ I¹ Part. of רָעַם to thunder, ultimately connected with *ragāmu*, due to the change of gutturals ר > ר.

² Variant of GAL = *rabû*.

³ K. 206, a list for *bêlu*, *beltum*, probably belongs to this tablet.

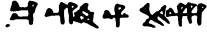
"goat" and *su(g)* "to lead," literally "leading-goat."⁴ In addition to the literature cited in the note see also *PSBA* (1909), Pl. VI, 12. Tammuz *maš-si-e māti*, "T. the noble of the earth." The change *maššû* > *muššû* is due to the labial *m*. Note that in II R. 47*b* 15 *maš-šu* = *ašaridu* = *amelu* *MAŠ-SU(G)-TUK*.⁵




In regard to *banû*, "honorable," etc., our evidence is based only on the passage quoted. If we are not to assume an unknown root for *banû* (= *ruššunu*) the most probable explanation would be to identify it with *banû*, Prs. Part. of *banû*, to create. Note *mar ba-ni-i*, "noble," *mar bānûte*, "nobles," Delitzsch, *HWB*, 178*b*, and Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum*, p. 59, n. 3.

S. LANGDON

OXFORD

⁴ See *Babyloniaca*, II, 113, and III, 78; also Scheil, *Tzt. El.-Sem.*, VI, 34, 27.

⁵ Line 14 has another (?) word *maš-šu* = *kakku* "weapon, baton," for which the Sumerian is partly broken away, but contains *MAŠ-SU-ILA*, "which the chief carries." *maššu* = *kakku*, here, is probably the same word as *maš-ši* in the cartouche before the face of Šamaš, V R. 60. We should, then, following Jastrow and Scheil (see Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon*, 597) translate "crown of Šamaš, baton and ring of *pp* i.e., Šamaš." Naturally we have to do with the same word in *iš^u GI-MAŠ(?) -SU(D) -SU(D)* = *maš-šu-u*, pole, stake, Syn. *gašišu*, *ZA*, IX, 220, 17. It is probable that II R. 47*a*, 14, and *ZA*, *ibid.*, restore each other mutually and that the true reading is 

 in II R. for which *ZA*, 220 has probably . For *muššu* = breast, Sm. 1981, 24, see now *Babyloniaca*, IV, 191. Also K. 11185, 3 *AGAN* = [*muš-šu*] Syn. *tulû* and *irtu*, and *CT*, XII, 19*a*, 5. For its connection with *صش* "udder," *OLZ* (1910), sp. 491. *muššu*, ring-worm (?), in *CT*, XXVIII, 29, 20, possibly a loan-word from *muš*, serpent. A word *maššû ša ameli* =  in *CT*, XII, 17*a*, 16, may be, perhaps, identical with *muššu*, breast.

Book Notices

STUDIEN ZUR BABYLONISCHEN RELIGION

Dr. Frank¹ has followed up his two smaller monographs on certain aspects of Babylonian-Assyrian symbolism as expressed in art works, by a larger volume of *Studies* on the Babylonian religion. According to the title-page the volume consists of two *Hefte*. The first *Heft* covers 38 pages and is devoted to a discussion of the divisions of the Babylonian priesthood and the priestly functions; the second *Heft* treats of sacred animals and the animal cult, in 27 pages. The balance of the book, or over 200 pages, is taken up with notes, translations of selected texts, appendices, and what the Germans would call "Excuse." To the first *Heft* of 38 pages there are no less than 338 notes, covering 56 pages; to the second *Heft* there are 101 notes of 19 pages. The notes thus cover more space than the texts, and one wonders whether the author would not have done better to combine his notes into a continuous discussion and to have given in the form of notes what is now the text. Certainly the first note, covering no less than five pages, discussing the title of *PATESI*, belongs as much to the text as any part of the book. The translated texts with notes cover 84 pages, or almost one-third of the entire book. Here the notes are on the whole of the proper character—brief elucidations of words and phrases occurring in the texts themselves, though, as one shall see, the necessity of again translating and commenting upon texts that are perfectly well known and that have already been treated by others may be questioned. The appendices on the Sumerian temple, on the Elamitic temple, on Temple Libraries, on the expression *E-DUB*, and on musical instruments cover 56 pages, or almost as much as the two *Hefte* which are supposed to represent the body of the work. In fact, what the author offers is not in any but a technical sense a book, but rather *disjecta membra*, embodying a variety of topics on which he has evidently been at work for some time, but which he has not taken the trouble to piece together in some consecutive order.

The result of Frank's method is that a very large variety of matters are touched upon, many valuable notes and suggestions are scattered throughout the volume, but scarcely any topic introduced is treated exhaustively or systematically, so that when one finishes the volume, one has learned much or little according to one's previous state. The difficulty of utilizing

¹ *STUDIEN ZUR BABYLONISCHEN RELIGION*. By Carl Frank. (Erster Band. 1. u. 2. Heft.) Strassburg: Schlesier und Schwellhardt. M. 20. 287 pp. 2 vols.

what the author has put together is still further increased by the totally insufficient index covering less than seven pages.

Coming to the body of the volume, it is not a pleasant task for the reviewer to give expression to his disappointment in finding that the author has really furnished little that is new. In justice to Dr. Frank it should be stated that he confesses in his preface to having embodied in his work material already known for some time, but he adds that it has been presented in a "new form." That is certainly not the case with the texts covering as we have seen, almost one-third of the volume. He furnishes in all twelve specimens in transliteration and translation. Of these the first three are merely fragments of hymns of a few lines each, which, except for the fact that in each the *kalu*-priest is introduced, have no special connection with *Heft 1*, and might just as well have been briefly referred to in one of the notes. Translations of isolated passages can hardly be designated as the presentation of older material in a "new form." Then follow four brief letters from Harper's collection (*Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*), but one is surprised to find in connection with the first specimen that no attempt is made to translate the greater part of the obverse and reverse, nor to interpret the letter as a whole. The really difficult terms and passages in this and the other letters are passed over. One of the letters is not even translated but merely transliterated; of another the author gives a "tentative" translation, and adds that it contains nothing of special importance for his purpose beyond the mention of *nârû*—the term for a priestly class of "singers." In the translation itself he fails to see that the triple *lû* is to be rendered "whether. . . whether. . . or," and that the following phrase must mean "the men of his land whose gods gave to me the kingship thereof" and not that the people gave the writer their land, their gods, and their kingship (as Frank puts it); nor is the balance of the letter as translated by our author at all intelligible. The seventh text included in this "Excursus" is the new *Etana* fragment, discovered and published by the reviewer in *JAOS* about a year ago. Frank not only translates it anew, but transliterates it and adds a commentary, taking up 14 pages in this way; and he even reproduces the text again. Such a repetition is only justified in case a new interpretation is offered, but any reader who will go to the trouble of comparing his translation with mine will find agreement in all but a few minor points. The same applies to the text which deviates from the one published in the *JAOS* in the reading of a few doubtful signs. The interpretation proposed by Frank is precisely the same as that given by the reviewer. He places the fragment in the tale exactly where the reviewer put it; he refers to the Scheil fragment and uses it precisely as the reviewer did; and merely because he succeeds in improving my version in half a dozen minor places, or rather in suggesting improvements, he regards himself justified in pronouncing my edition as "vollständig verfehlt." Still more remarkable is the author's conduct when he comes to translate another text dealing with liver divination (pp. 165-78), where

he does not even mention that the text was for the first time copied in full, translated, and explained by the reviewer in his *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, II, 335-40. From the notes it is evident that Frank made use of this work on the text, since he refers in most cases, to the same passages in liver-divination texts which are put together in my notes; and besides, on comparing the two translations it will again be found that they differ from one another merely in the choice of words. The note on p. 175 to line 26 is merely a transcript in transformed form of note 6 on p. 377 of the reviewer's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*. More than this, although he uses the reviewer's investigations of the divination literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians at every turn, he never refers to them and directly misleads the reader who does not happen to be an Assyriologist by conveying the impression that the few pages in Ungnad's popular article of some 30 pages on the "Deutung der Zukunft bei den Babyloniern und Assyriern" is the only discussion of divination through the liver as practiced by Babylonians and Assyrians. Dr. Frank would have been perfectly justified in opposing any of the views or results reached by the reviewer, but I submit that he has no right to conceal from his readers the fact that in the reviewer's work above mentioned, over 200 pages (II, 213-415) are devoted to this subject in which dozens of "liver" texts are translated for the first time, and in which for the first time the system is set forth in detail and its position in the religion made clear.

Another text translated by our author (pp. 128-39) is the well-known fragment in which the bārû-priesthood is carried back to a perhaps legendary king of Sippar EN-ME-DURANKI and in which the various functions of the bārû and the conditions of admission to the dignity are set forth. We owe this important text to Professor Zimmern, who published, translated, and explained it a good many years ago in his *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion*. I cannot, in comparing his translation with Zimmern's, see that our author has improved upon his predecessor in the few passages in which he deviates from Zimmern's version. Instead of Zimmern's suggestion for takaltu as "Ledertasche," Frank proposes "Eingeweide" and, in a note on the subject, tries to show that it refers primarily to the "stomach." This, however, is impossible since CT, XIV, Pl. 14, 3, enters takaltu as a synonym for hašû, which is one of the words for "liver." The term takaltu must therefore include this organ; and since, as Zimmern had already recognized, takaltu means literally a "receptacle," it appears to be used for the "net" in which the liver is inclosed. At all events it cannot designate the "entrails," for we have no proof that any other organ besides the liver was used in Babylonian divination, but it must be a technical term to describe the official hepatoscopy, just as the expression niširti Anim Enlil u Ea "Secret (or Mystery) of Anu, Enlil and Ea" designates astrology as another form of divination intrusted to the bārû-priesthood. Frank fails to recognize also the force of this latter expression; and it is

rather surprising that in his new study of Zimmern's text, he should not have seen that lines 16-18, which on the surface are a repetition of lines 7-9, revert to a different source and that the text as it now stands is a combination of several independent bits of separate origin; for which view other evidence can be brought forward.

Nos. X and XI of the texts selected by Frank for translation belong to the class of birth omens, but our author did not recognize that the former (K 4035, etc.) stands in the relation to the latter as a part of a complete tablet to an extract from the same—lines 1-23 of K 4035, etc. (*CT*, XXVIII, Pl. 5.), corresponding to lines 31-39 obv. of K 2007 (*CT*, XXVII, Pl. 17). The two texts should therefore have been combined. Both are parts of the third tablet of the Isbu-series = K 131, published in *CT*, XXVII, Pl. 16. The obverse of K 131 = lines 1-12 of obv. of K 2007, while the reverse = lines 2-5 of rev. of K 2007. It so happens that the portion of this third tablet furnished by the fragment K 4035, etc., is not preserved in the fragment of the full tablet represented by K 131. Moreover, K 2007 (being Text No. XI of Frank's selection) is composed of extracts of *two different tablets*, the obverse to line 5 of the reverse being 45 omens taken, as indicated, from the third tablet of the Isbu-series, while rev. 7-26 is an extract of 17 omens from the fourth tablet of this series as is shown by a comparison of the colophon to K 2007 (rev. 28) with the colophon to K 131 rev. 10, furnishing the first line of this fourth tablet. That K 2007 contains two extracts is indicated by the two colophons rev. 7 and 28—in both of which we find the phrase *ištu libbi na-as-ḫa* which rev. 28 is ideographically written ZI-(ḫa). The same relationship of "extracts" to portions of the "full" tablet applies to many other fragments of the texts published in *CT*, XXVII and XXVIII, but unless this is recognized one cannot hope to get a satisfactory conception of the character of these birth-omen texts. What Frank says, therefore, on p. 153 regarding the order of subjects followed in K 2007 is of no value, since this text is merely an extract; whereas, in order to get a proper view of the order, we must take K 4035, etc., and K 131—portions of the full tablet—as our basis, and supplement these by K 2007. Putting the three texts together, we can restore the greater portion of this third tablet of the Isbu-series, just as by combining K 2007 rev. 7-26—the extract from the fourth tablet—with K 6790, etc. (*CT*, XXVIII, Pl. 1-2)—the "full" fourth tablet—we can restore a large portion of the fourth tablet of this series.

If Dr. Frank had penetrated somewhat deeper into the study of the two birth-omen texts which he selected for translation, he would not have failed in the endeavor to translate the very first line of his No. X, for he would have seen that this line corresponds to K 2007 obv. 31 and that the full line can, therefore, be restored, just as lines, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15, 17 can be restored from lines 32-39 obv. of K 2007. By a comparison with K 2007 we see that the "extract" of 8 lines is taken from the 16 lines of the "full" tablet

(K 4035), or in other words that the "extract" represents in this section at least about one-half of the full tablet. The comparison of K 4035, line 1, with K 2007, obv. 31, furthermore shows that the term *kar-ši* following the number 6 corresponds to 6 *ta-a-an* of K 2007 which clears up the meaning of *karšu*—left untranslated by Frank. It designates the "divisions" of the six toes on the right foot of the new-born babe. The line, therefore, reads, "If a woman gives birth (*sc.* to a child and it has) six divided toes on the right foot, misfortune (?) will seize the house of the man." What our author had in mind when he translated "Wenn eine Frau gebiert und es sind dann VI *Karšē* der Zehen seines (rechten [?]) Fusses gemacht. . . ." it is difficult to say; just as his translation of 1. 1, of No. XI (K 2007), "Wenn eine Frau gebiert und dann Löwenohren gemacht sind," etc., gives no sense. Dr. Frank has, in fact, failed to understand the fundamental character of these birth-omen texts which deal on the one hand with all kinds of malformations and on the other with supposed resemblances between the features or organs or parts of the new-born babe with those of some animal—lion, dog, swine, or ass, etc. The proper translation of this line is, of course, "If a woman gives birth (*sc.* to a child that has) the ears of a lion," etc. The particle *ma* which our author throughout translates "dann" is simply the introduction to the peculiarity observed in the case of the infant which stamps it as an omen that calls for an interpretation. Space forbids me to show in detail other errors in Frank's translation of these two comparatively simple birth-omen texts. Our author does not even correctly interpret the term *isbu* which occurs hundreds of times in these birth-omen texts. Had he studied the passages he would have found that it does not mean "ein ungestaltiges Wesen" as he renders the term on p. 133, but is the generic expression for the child or animal, formed in the womb. The proper German term is "Leibesfrucht," i.e., either the embryo, the foetus, or the full-formed new birth, or a malformation according to the context.

Of the body of the work, by which I mean the two *Hefte*, the first, on the "Babylonian Priesthood," is largely a restatement with some additions and many notes of what has already been more briefly put together by Schrank in his monograph *Babylonische Sühnriten*, etc., and in some special articles by other scholars that might be mentioned. By this I do not mean to deny that there are many interesting remarks on the texts, many valuable suggestions and references to texts that are useful, but I cannot find that he has added anything materially to our knowledge of the subject. Of more value is the second *Heft* treating of sacred animals and animal symbolism in the cult, though he has failed to utilize the very valuable material to be found in the designs on the "Seal Cylinders" and which is now so conveniently and so admirably put together by Ward in his *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*; and he has also neglected the animal omens and the birth omens which may be designated as fundamental to a study of the animals that acquire a religious significance in Babylonia and Assyria. The birth

omens, which deal as much with signs observed on the young of animals as with those on human infants, form the starting-point for the cult of animals so far as it existed in the Babylonian-Assyrian religion. How very fragmentary Frank's treatment of the subject is may be gathered from the three lines he devotes to the eagle without even mentioning the eagle that Ninguirsu holds in his hand as his symbol on the so-called "Stèle des Vautours," or the symbolism associated with the lion-headed eagle on the silver vase of Entemana and on seal cylinders—as the standard of Lagash, confirmed by passages in Gudea's texts which show, as Ward and Thureau-Dangin have also recognized, that the bird Im-gig is none other than this symbol. The association of gods with animals which is an exceedingly important factor in the symbolism connected with sacred animals is hardly touched upon. Instead of translating texts already sufficiently understood, our author should have furnished a full study of *CT*, XVII, Pls. 42–43—a text of fundamental significance for the subject of Dr. Frank's second *Heft*. Would this not have been more useful than merely to put together from the old Babylonian votive and historical inscriptions the list of temples occurring there, with no discussion even of their names, much less of their character? Such a list is almost useless without a utilization of the rich material furnished by the business documents of the older and the later periods of Babylonian history. A thorough study of the Babylonian and Assyrian temples on the basis of the really vast material now accessible to us is a desideratum, and Dr. Frank would have rendered a genuine service had he confined himself in his volume to this one theme instead of passing from one subject to another without exhausting any and betraying a rather superficial acquaintance with most of them.

Of what special value are the four pages which he devotes to an "Exkursus" on the "Temple Library" of Nippur question and which is purely polemical without adding anything of moment to the problem? What is needed is the proof by the publication of at least some hundreds of tablets of an *unquestionably* literary character with colophons and other indications to show that the bulk of the valuable tablets found by J. H. Haynes in 1900 are not merely school texts, or the necessary paraphernalia of the temple for use in the cult. Dr. Frank admits the parallel between the discoveries at Sippar and Nippur to which the reviewer first called attention in his paper "Did the Babylonian Temples Have Libraries (*JAOS*, XXV) and which neither Rassam nor Scheil who explored Sippar designated as a temple library. In making this admission Frank really gives his case away, for if all tablets found in a temple are part of a "temple library," then the whole contention about the special character of the "Nippur" finds of 1900 falls to the ground. It is somewhat confusing to find the author in the course of his special pleading introducing at one point (p. 225) the compound ideogram E-Dub "Tablet-House" as the possible designation for a "Temple Library" and therefore a proof for the existence of such an institution, and then a few pages

farther on (p. 228) saying that "it is certain that the expression does not designate a library" but a "writing-room" or a "notary's office."

Realizing evidently the fragmentary character of what he has gathered in his volume, Dr. Frank closes his book by a promise to continue his investigations (which I earnestly hope he will do) and to "publish in an enlarged form and in another connection," as soon as the material at our disposal shall have been exhaustively studied. One should suppose that Dr. Frank would have done this before publishing his volume. He then enters upon a statement of what still remains to be done and how it should be done and closes with the *ipse dixit* that the "Religion of Babylonia" is still to be written. If our author means by this that a final work on the "Religion of Babylonia and Assyria" cannot at present be written, everyone will agree with him. In every progressive field of research one work is always the forerunner of another, but that is no reason why at each juncture in the progress of knowledge the material at our disposal should not be presented in a systematic and readable manner; and it is hardly generous to ignore, as our author does, the work done in this respect by others.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

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INSCRIPTIONS OF EARLY ASSYRIAN RULERS

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The texts of which a translation and discussion are here offered were found by the German excavators¹ at Kalat Sherkat, the site of the ancient city of Ashur, and published in the first part of *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*.² The autograph copies of the inscriptions are the work of the late Leopold Messerschmidt. Extracts from these inscriptions, containing for the most part genealogies and chronological data, appeared from time to time in the *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*³ and have been used by Meyer,⁴ King,⁵ and others in their reconstruction of early Assyrian history. Until some new inscription throws additional light upon the matter, the chronological schemes proposed by these scholars must remain, as they themselves freely admit, largely provisional. It is not the purpose of this article to re-examine matters chronological, but rather to furnish a full translation of the new texts from Ashur on the basis of which the historian will be able to form a better picture than was possible heretofore, of the rise of Assyria and the spread of her influence during the second pre-Christian millennium.

¹ See the reports in *MDOG*, 201.

² *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, historischen Inhalts*. Erstes Heft. Owing to the untimely death of Dr. Leopold Messerschmidt who had autographed the texts, the work of seeing them through the press fell to Professor Delitzsch, who added the index and a number of "Verbesserungen und Nachträge."

³ A splendid beginning in the publication of the results of the excavations at Ashur has been made by the excavator Andrae in his *Anu-Adad Tempel*.

⁴ *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 2, 2d ed.

⁵ *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*.

Just as in the case of most of the other ancient states, the beginnings of Assyria are, and probably will remain, obscure; for a city like Ashur, the nucleus around which the Assyrian state developed, lying as it does somewhat apart from the scene of the earliest empires on the Euphrates, was hardly likely to attract attention until it had become wealthy or prominent enough to arouse the cupidity or jealousy of some stronger state. The earliest rulers of Ashur whose names have come down to us were Ushpia and Kikia, the former the traditional founder of the temple of Ashur, the latter the builder of the city-wall. The form of these names has suggested to Ungnad⁶ the possibility that the Mitannians, a people related to the Hittites, were the founders of Ashur. However that may be, there can be little doubt that the civilization of Assyria from the earliest times was predominantly Semitic.

In the present state of our knowledge there is room for difference of opinion as to the relative contributions of Sumerians and Semites to the civilization of the Euphrates Valley. No doubt Meyer has cleared the atmosphere by his *Sumerer und Semiten*, but whether the Semites were in the valley as early as the Sumerians, perhaps earlier, as he believes, is by no means certain. The Semites were known as Akkadians, and Ungnad believes that this was surely because Akkad was the first Semitic state in Babylonia. He also suggests the possibility that before Sargon made Akkad the capital city of his empire, the Semites had already formed a state outside the valley, say in Amurru.⁷ In either case it was with the empire of Sargon and his son Naram-Sin (ca. 2500 B.C.) that the Semites for the first time gained the supremacy in Babylonia. If we regard the Semites of Sargon's time as the first of the successive migrations of this stock from the desert of Arabia into the Euphrates Valley, we must assume that the earliest Semites of Ashur and the other cities which made up the later Assyrian empire were borne in on this wave of migration, for there existed an Assyrian kingdom before the time of Sumu-abum, the founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon, which represents the dominance of a new wave of Semites, namely, the Amorites.

The first date in Assyrian history is furnished by a catch-line on a late Assyrian tablet containing chronicles of early kings.⁸ It tells of

⁶ BA, VI, 5, p. 13. ⁷ *Sumerer und Akkader*, OLZ, 1908, 62 f. ⁸ King, *op. cit.*, II, 14.

a war between Ilu-shuma king of Assyria and Su-abu (Sumu-abum). The date of Sumu-abum is *ca.* 2050 B.C. (Meyer, 2060–2047; Ungnad, 2232–2219). Our earliest Assyrian inscriptions are those of Irishum (Nos. 1, 2, 3) son of Ilu-shuma. From the first of these we learn the names of the father and grandfather of Ilu-shuma as well—Shalim-ahum and Kate-Ashir. All of these bear the title of *patesi* of the god Ashur (written Ashir in these old texts) but, if this title suggests an overlord to whom they were subject, we have no information as to who he was.⁹ Nor have we any means for determining how long before Irishum's time Ushpia built the temple of Ashur. It is only for the period after Irishum that the inscriptions furnish dates.

According to another (No. 2) of his inscriptions, Irishum built the temple of Adad. This was probably the "temple of Anu and Adad" which Tiglath-pileser I (*ca.* 1175–1100 B.C.) rebuilt sixty years after Ashur-dan and seven hundred and one years after Shamshi-Adad, son of Ishme-Dagan, who was, according to Tiglath-pileser's tradition, its builder.¹⁰

Irishum is best known to his successors as restorer of the temple of Ashur. It is probably to the building of this temple that the first inscription in King's *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* refers. Shalmaneser I (No. 14, Col. III, 32 f.) speaks of the work of his ancestor Irishum (Erishu) as follows: "when Eharsagkurkurra, the temple of my lord Ashur, which Ushpia, priest of Ashur, my ancestor, had built aforetime, had fallen into ruins, then my ancestor Erishu restored it. One hundred and fifty-nine years passed after the reign of Erishu and that temple (again) fell into ruins. Then Shamshi-Adad, priest of Ashur, restored it. Five hundred and eighty years elapsed and that temple which Shamshi-Adad had restored became old and weak," etc. Whereupon Shalmaneser restored it once more. An inscription of Esarhaddon¹¹ has a different chronology. According to this inscription, Erishu, son of Ilu-shuma, restored the temple which Ushpia had built, and one hundred and twenty-six years thereafter Shamshi-Adad, son of Bel-kabi, made some restorations. Four hundred and thirty-four years after Shamshi-Adad, Shalmaneser found it again in need of repairs. We need not hesitate in preferring

⁹ For a discussion of the title see Meyer, *op. cit.*, § 432.

¹⁰ Cylinder Inscription, Col. VII, 60 f.

¹¹ *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, No. 51. Cf. *MDOG*, 22, 74, and other numbers.

the chronology of Shalmaneser who lived some six hundred years before Esarhaddon, but the task of assigning places to the different Shamshi-Adads known to us presents real difficulties. But before taking up this matter, let us turn to the immediate successors of Irishum.

On some fragments of a late copy of an older inscription of a patesi of Ashur we read of the building of a temple of Erishkigal by Ikunum, son of Erishum (King, *Annals*, xvii, n. 3). This Ikunum is also mentioned in the inscription of Ashir-rim-nishe-shu, son of Ashir-nirari (No. 6): "The wall which Kikia, Ikunum, Shar-ken-kate-Ashir and Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan, my ancestors, had built. . . ." Thus we see that Ikunum carried on the work of his father Erishum.

While the date of Ikunum is determined by these references to his activities, that of Shar-ken-kate-Ashir, the next restorer of the city-wall, cannot be fixed.

As we saw above, Esarhaddon mentions a Shamshi-Adad, son of Bel-kabi, as restorer of the temple of Ashur. King¹² has published an inscription of Shamshi-Adad, son of Igur-kapkapu, builder of the temple of Ashur. On the basis of a passage in an inscription of Adad-Nirari IV (812-783 B.C.), in which he claims descent from Bel-kapkapi, it has been suggested that the name Igur-kapkapu should be read Bel-kapkapi. Likewise it has been proposed to identify this Bel-kapkapu with the Bel-kabi of Esarhaddon's inscription.¹³ Until some new inscription throws additional light upon the matter, such guesses must, of course, be taken for what they are worth. The same must be said of Meyer's suggestion that the Shamshi-Adad, son of Bel-kabi, of Esarhaddon's inscription, is the same as the Shamshi-Adad, contemporary of Hammurabi, mentioned on a tablet from Sippar.¹⁴ That Assyria was subject to Babylon under Hammurabi is very probable, but here too the direct evidence is scant.¹⁵

Of Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan, mentioned in the inscription of Ashir-rim-nishe-shu, quoted above, as one of the restorers of the city-wall, we possess a brick inscription in which he calls himself builder of the temple of Bel-labira. Tiglath-pileser I (Cyl. Insc.,

¹² *Annals*, 2.

¹³ Meyer, *op. cit.*, § 448.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ In the Code (Harper, 4, 58), Hammurabi speaks of restoring to Ashur its protecting deity (lamassu), which may point to the establishment of peace after an invasion.

Col. VI, 85 f.) mentions a temple of Bel-labiru, "the elder Bel," which he restored. This was probably the temple which Ashir-nirari had built. We have already referred to the passage in this same inscription of Tiglath-pileser in which he mentions Shamshi-Adad, son of Ishme-Dagan, as restorer (or builder) of the temple of Anu and Adad some seven hundred years before his time. Of the relation between Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan, and Shamshi-Adad, son of Ishme-Dagan, if there is any,¹⁶ we know nothing. Tiglath-pileser's date gives us the only clue as to the period in which we are to place Shamshi-Adad, son of Ishme-Dagan, namely, *ca.* 1850 B.C. Adad-nirari II mentions an ancestor Ashur-nirari who had built a palace in Ashur (No. 11, Obv. 33 f.).

In the neighborhood of 1600 B.C. has been placed the date of Shamsi-Adad, the third of that name. In his inscription (No. 5) he calls himself "king of the universe (*šar kiššati*), builder of the temple of Ashur, who devotes his energies to the land between the Tigris and Euphrates" (Col. I, 1 f.). It is unfortunate that he does not mention the name of his father or any other of his immediate predecessors, which might have enabled us to fix his period more definitely. He speaks of royal ancestors whose deeds his own surpassed, but this means little to us. Meyer makes him the exponent of Assyrian supremacy following the Cassite conquest of Babylonia.¹⁷ Another date is suggested by the writer in the footnote.

Following the introductory phrases the inscription continues with a record of the rebuilding of the temple of Enlil, called Eamkurkurra, which is translated "the temple of the lord (wild-ox) of the lands."¹⁸

¹⁶ Meyer, *op. cit.*, § 463A.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, § 464. There is one objection to so late a date which continues to present itself to the writer, namely, the language of the inscription of Shamshi-Adad which reads like an inscription of Hammurabi. The similarity of the language to that of the Code will be apparent at once to anyone who compares the two. At the same time it would doubtless be an easy matter to point out differences. Unfortunately the inscriptions dating from the period between Hammurabi and Agum II (*kakrimé*) are few indeed, but a glance at the inscription of the latter will show the difference between the language of Hammurabi's day and that of the Babylon of the middle of the seventeenth century B.C. (Agum's date is *ca.* 1650 B.C.). In the inscription of Shamshi-Adad the mimmation is used throughout, in the inscription of Agum II only occasionally. May it not be necessary to place Shamshi-Adad about a century and a half earlier, soon after or possibly before the Hittite invasion of Babylonia which brought about the overthrow of the First Dynasty? It is certainly significant that Shamshi-Adad has nothing to say of wars between him and the Cassites, with whom all of the later Assyrian kings were perpetually at war, but that his wars were fought with the peoples to the north and northwest of Assyria. The fact that he considered himself the guardian of the "land between the Tigris and Euphrates" may also point to a date when the Babylonian dynasty was exhausted and when the Cassites had not yet succeeded in establishing themselves in the land.

¹⁸ Cf. p. 169, below.

This temple, according to Col. I, 18 f., had been built by Erishum, son of Ilu-shuma. The doors, we are told, were covered with silver and gold. It is tempting to believe that these may have been the doors which Saushatar, king of Mitanni, took from Ashur some centuries later (*MDOG*, 35, 36).

Of interest is the fixing of the money standard. "When I built the temple of Enlil, my lord, the prices of my city Ashur were as follows: for one shekel of silver, two gur of grain, for one shekel of silver, twenty-five mana of wool, for one shekel of silver, twelve ka of oil, according to the (standard) prices of my city Ashur were bought" (Col. III, 13—Col. IV, 3). With this we may compare a passage in an inscription of Sin-gashid of Uruk (ca. 2000 B.C.): "During his reign there shall be bought for one shekel of silver, three gur of grain, twelve mana of wool, ten mana of copper, or thirty ka of oil, according to the prices of the land."¹⁹

"At that time," Shamshi-Adad goes on to say, "the tribute of the kings of Tukrish and the king of the upper country I received in my city Ashur. A great name and a memorial stela I set up in the country of Laban on the shore of the great sea" (Col. IV, 4 f.).

Without denying Assyrian activity in Cappadocia in this period, the writer does not feel able to follow Meyer²⁰ in regarding the "great sea" as the Black Sea. Tukrish may be identical with an Armenian city Tigrish, as Streck²¹ suggests, but it is most probable that the "great sea" is no other than the Mediterranean. Whatever the location of Tukrish—the phrase "and the kings of the upper country" points to the Armenian and Kummuh (Kutmuḥ) regions—the passage does not exclude the possibility that Shamshi-Adad's campaigns brought him to the Mediterranean. This had been the goal of the great conquerors since Sargon, and perhaps Lugal-zaggisi, as it was of the great successors of Shamshi-Adad. The campaigns of Tiglath-pileser I, Ashur-nasir-pal, and the kings of the later Assyrian empire regularly proceeded along the semi-circular curve from Ashur, Calah or Nineveh, northward into the mountains of the "upper country," Nairi-Urartu, then westward through Kummuh to Musri and the other Hatti-lands, across the Euphrates at Kar-

¹⁹ Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, 223c.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, § 464. See p. 169, below.

²¹ *ZA*, XX, 460.

kamish and thence to the Mediterranean and the Syrian coast. Shamshi-Adad probably followed the same curve.

The next inscription carries us into the middle of the Cassite period. We have referred to this inscription of Ashir-rim-nishe-shu (No. 6) a number of times in connection with the names of earlier Assyrian rulers, Kikia, Ikunum, Shar-ken-kate-Ashir, and Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan. Ashir-rim-nishe-shu mentions the names of his father and grandfather, Ashir-nirari and Ashir-rabu. From the "Synchronous History" (Col. I, 12 f.) we learn that Karaindash of Babylonia and Ashir-rim(EN)-nishe-shu of Assyria made a covenant with each other and agreed to respect the boundary. In spite of this synchronism scholars differ by more than a century in the date assigned to these kings. Meyer²² places Ashir-rim-nishe-shu at about 1430 B.C., Ungnad²³ at 1420-1405 B.C., with a question mark, while Schnabel²⁴ assigns him a date *ca.* 1560 B.C. Here again there will be difference of opinion until a new text clears up the situation. But, as Schnabel has seen, it is necessary to place a second Ashir-rim-nishe-shu between Pusur-Ashur and Erba-Adad, for an inscription of Adad-nirari II (No. 10, Obv. 29 f.) mentions the "wall of the new city . . . which Pusur-Ashur . . . had built." Ashur-rim(EN)-nishe-shu is said to have put a casing-wall over it, and, when it had again fallen to ruins, Erba-Adad restored it. That Pusur-Ashur cannot be placed before Ashur-rim-nishe-shu follows from the "Synchronous History," which, immediately after the statement that Karaindash of Babylonia and Ashur-rim(EN)-nishe-shu made a treaty, tells of a similar treaty between Pusur-Ashur of Assyria and Burnaburiash of Babylonia (Col. I, 16 f.).

In addition to his work of building the "wall of the new city," Pusur-Ashur was active in repairing the great wall of Ashur, as we learn from an inscription of Ashir-rim-nishe-shu II (No. 7). This

²² ZA, XX, p. 598.

²³ OLZ, 1908, 11 f.

²⁴ MDVG, 1908, 27. Briefly stated the facts are as follows: (1) From No. 6, we learn the name of Ashir-ri-im-nishe-shu, son of Ashir-nirari, grandson of Ashir-rabu. (2) No. 7 (after Delitzsch) is an inscription of Ashur-EN-nishe-shu, who must have lived after Pusur-Ashur. (3) From No. 10, we have the order Pusur-Ashur, Ashur-EN-nishe-shu, Erba-Adad, Adad-nirari (I). This establishes the fact that Ashur-EN-nishe-shu lived after Pusur-Ashur. But (4) the "Synchronous History" has an Ashur-EN-nishe-shu before Pusur-Ashur. If Ashur-EN-nishe-shu can be read Ashur-rim-nishe-shu, the Ashur-rim-nishe-shu of No. 6 and the Ashur-EN-nishe-shu of the Synchronous History may be the same person, and the Ashur-EN-nishe-shu of Nos. 7 and 10 would be Ashur-rim-nishe-shu II. Otherwise we must distinguish between Ashir-rim-nishe-shu son of Ashir-nirari, Ashur-bel-nishe-shu I (before Pusur-Ashur), and Ashur-bel-nishe-shu II (after Pusur-Ashur).

inscription is to appear in full in the second part of *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* and we shall then probably know more about the activities of this ruler. It is possible, however, to gather from the fragments already published that the inscription deals mainly with the restorations of the city wall.

Before Erba-Adad, mentioned above, we must place Ashurnadin-ahe. It is probably this king who is mentioned in the "Broken Obelisk" (Col. V, 4 f.) as builder of a "great terrace facing the north." It was formerly thought that he was the father of Ashur-uballit because of a passage in one of the el-Amarna letters,²⁵ but from a new inscription (No. 8) we learn that he was not the father but only an ancestor of Ashur-uballit, son of Erba-Adad. Whether, as Schnabel²⁶ has suggested, Ashurnadin-ahe was a contemporary of Thutmose III, or is to be placed much later in the list of Assyrian kings,²⁷ cannot be taken up here.

A new complication arises from a text of Adad-nirari II (No. 10) which seems to speak of another Adad-nirari (I) who must be placed between Erba-Adad and the father of Shalmaneser I. This would make it necessary to distinguish between Ashur-uballit, son of Erba-Adad, and Ashur-uballit, the great grandfather of Adad-nirari II. Ashur-uballit I (No. 8) calls himself as well as his father Erba-Adad and his ancestor Ashurnadin-ahe, patesi of Ashur, but it does not follow that they were subject to an overlord. It seems to the writer that Winckler, Schnabel, and Weber²⁸ have been entirely too hasty in assigning the dominant position in the politics of Western Asia in the fifteenth pre-Christian century to the Mitannians, but until the texts found at Boghaz-Keui are published no reconstruction of the history of this period should be attempted.

The active part which Ashur-uballit II took in the affairs of Babylonia is known from the "Synchronous History"²⁹ and his letters to the Egyptian Pharaoh.

²⁵ Knudtzon, *El-Amarna-Tafeln*, No. 16, 19.

²⁶ *MDVG*, 1908, 22 f.

²⁷ Ungnad, *loc. cit.*, places him immediately before Erba-Adad and assigns the date 1395-85 B.C.

²⁸ Winckler, *MDG*, 35, Schnabel, *op. cit.*, Weber, 1035 f. of Knudtzon's *El-Amarna-Tafeln*.

²⁹ "In the time of Ashur-uballit, king of Assyria, the Cassites revolted against Karahardash, king of Babylonia, the son of Muballitat-Sherua, the daughter of Ashur-uballit, and slew him, and they raised up Nazi-Bugash, (a Cassite) and a man of lowly birth, to be king over them. (. . .) Ashur-uballit invaded Babylonia in order to take vengeance (for Karahardash, his grandson), and he slew (Nazi-)Bugash, king of

Enlil-nirari, son of Ashur-uballit II and grandfather of Adad-nirari II, is known to us from the inscription of his grandson as "destroyer of the hosts of the Cassites," which shows how chronic was the trouble between the Cassite hordes and the Assyrians. From the "Synchronous History" we learn that Kurigalzu, the younger, invaded Assyria but was defeated by Enlil-nirari and compelled to respect the boundary.³⁰

Arik-den-ilu (which is the correct reading of the name formerly read Pudi-ilu) extended the conquests begun by his father and grandfather. His son Adad-nirari calls him "prefect of Enlil, viceroy of Ashur, conqueror of the lands of Turuki and Nigimti in their totality, together with all of their kings, mountains, and highlands, the territory of the wide-spreading Kuti, the region of the Ahlami, Suti, the Iari and their lands; who enlarged boundary and frontier."³¹ His building activities are known from his own inscriptions.³²

The wars of Adad-nirari II³³ have long been known from his inscription published in IV Rawlinson, 44 f., but the new texts from Ashur furnish much additional information. He refers to himself in all of his inscriptions as "destroyer of the mighty hosts of Cassites, Kuti, Lulumi and Subari." These were his foes to the south, east, north, and west. In the Cassites we probably have the rulers of Babylonia,³⁴ although the Assyrian king may also have come in contact with other Cassite tribes in the mountains to the east of the Tigris. It was probably in these mountains and the regions to the north of Ashur that he met and defeated the Kuti and Lulumi in whom we have the descendants of the Gutu and Lulubi of the times

Babylonia, and he made (Ku)rigalzu the younger, the son of Burna-Buriash, king and seated him upon his father's throne" ("Synchronous History," Col. I, 19 f.). Translation from King, *Annals*, xxiv f.

In his letter to Amenhotep IV (see n. 25) Ashur-uballit informs the Pharaoh that he is building a palace, and suggests that he make a contribution in gold "which is common as dust" in Egypt. He adds, by way of a gentle hint, that when his ancestor Ashurnadin-ahê sent to Egypt for money they sent him twenty talents of gold.

³⁰ Col. I, 29 f. Which shows the ingratitude of these Cassite kings.

³¹ No. 9, Obv. 15 f.

³² King, *Annals*, 3.

³³ The reasons for calling this Adad-nirari the second of that name are discussed below, p. 179.

³⁴ See n. 30, and King, *Annals*, xxxii, from which the following passage from the "Synchronous History" (Col. I, 35 f.) is quoted. "Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, and Nazi-Maraddash, king of Babylonia, fought with one another at Kar-Ishtar of Akarsallu. Adad-nirari defeated Nazi-Maraddash, and he overthrew him, and he captured from him his camp and his priests. Concerning the boundary (they agreed) as follows: they established their boundary from the land of Pilaski, which is on the further side of the Tigris, (from) the city of Arman-Akarsalli as far as Lulume, and thus they divided it."

of Sargon and Naram-Sin.³⁵ The Subari probably included the Aramaean and Mitannian elements to the northwest and west. In the new inscriptions we have a more detailed account of these conquests. We learn for instance that he took the cities to the north and west of Assyria as far as Haran and Karkamish on the Euphrates (No. 11). Furthermore, we see that these conquests were but the continuation of the activities of his father and great-grandfather in these regions. He regularly refers to his great-grandfather Ashur-uballit II as conqueror of the land of Musri, and to his father Arikden-ilu as conqueror of the land of Commogene (Kummuh, written Kutmuhi in these texts).³⁶ We shall take up these campaigns below in connection with the inscriptions of Adad-nirari's son Shalmaneser. The extent of the building operations of Adad-nirari may be seen from the translations of his inscriptions (Nos. 10-13).

From a passage in the annals of Ashur-nasir-pal³⁷ it had been inferred that Shalmaneser, the son of Adad-nirari, was active in extending the conquests of his ancestors. We are now in a position to follow him in his campaigns. On his accession to the throne, the land of Uruadri revolted (No. 14, Col. I, 26 f.) and Shalmaneser at once set out against it. In three days' time he completed its subjugation. From the names of two of the eight districts mentioned, namely, Himme and Luha, we are able to locate the region of his campaign with considerable accuracy, for Tiglath-pileser mentions these districts as sending aid to the people of "Sugi which is in the land of Kirhi."³⁸ But Kirhi lay in the mountains to the northwest of Ashur in the region later known as Urartu, that is, Armenia. There can be little doubt but that Uruadri is the same as the later Urartu.³⁹

The city of Arina, "a strongly fortified mountain fastness," was next taken and devastated. Shalmaneser scattered stones or salt⁴⁰ upon its site, took some of its earth back to Ashur, and poured it out in the gate of the city as a witness for the days to come of the punishment meted out to rebellious subjects. This may have been the same city before which Thutmose III defeated the "wretched foe of

³⁵ This has been suggested before, and in the case of the Lulumu seems to be raised beyond a doubt by the reading Lulubi instead of the usual Lulumu in the text of Shalmaneser, No. 16, below.

³⁶ See pp. 178, 190, below.

³⁷ Col. I, 102 f. (King, *Annals*, 290).

³⁸ Cyl. Insc., Col. IV, 8 f.

³⁹ See p. 186, below.

⁴⁰ See p. 187, below.

Naharin," in his tenth campaign.⁴¹ However that may be, it is certain that the city soon revived, for Tiglath-pileser found it the center of opposition in his day.⁴²

This campaign brought with it the subjugation of the whole land of Musri. As we saw above, the conquest of Musri was the great achievement of Ashur-uballit II. From the preliminary report of the Boghaz-Keui texts (*MDOG*, 35), it is clear that the Hittite records furnish ample evidence of the aggression of Assyria in the Mitanni country. We learn that Mitanni was divided up between Assyria and Alshe on the death of Tushratta. We are able to date this event with considerable certainty at about 1370 B.C., a date which falls at the close of the reign of Ashur-uballit II. If the identification of the Araina of the inscriptions of Thutmose III and the Arina of the cuneiform texts is correct, it follows that Musri was for a long period a center of Hittite influence.

After the conquest of Musri, Shalmaneser took up the subjugation of Hanigalbat. Here he defeated the armies of Hittites and Aramaeans (Ahlami) led by Shatuara, whose name is probably Aryan and shows the prominence of this element in the population of these regions.⁴³ Shalmaneser speaks with the pride of an Egyptian Pharaoh of his personal encounter with the king of the enemy. The extent of the region known as Hanigalbat may be seen from Col. III, 1-5, "at that time, from the city of Taidi to the city of Irridi, the whole Kashiari region, to the city of Eluhath, the stronghold of Sudi, the stronghold of Haran as far as Karkamish on the banks of the Euphrates, I captured their cities."

The Kuti, whose numbers we are told were countless as the stars of heaven, next engaged the attention of Shalmaneser. Their tribes were scattered from the border of the land of Uruadri to the land of Kutmuhi, that is, over the region later known as the Nairi country.

Of especial interest is the section (No. 14, Col. IV, 8 f.) dealing with the rebuilding of the temple of Ashur. Upon the stone substructure of the building were placed the foundation deposits in the form of gold, silver, bronze, iron, lead, precious stones, and herbs and upon these were laid the mud-walls of the temple. In the second

⁴¹ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 469 f.

⁴² *Cyl. Insc.*, Col. V, 67 f.

⁴³ See references in my article "Some Hittite and Mitannian Personal Names," *AJSL*, XXVI (1910), 101; and *AJSL*, XXVII (1911), 270, n. 8.

part of the ceremony different kinds of oil, wine, honey, and butter were used. From the texts of Sargon we learn that the different metals and stone were in the form of tablets on which the king inscribed his name. When Tukulti-Ninib rebuilt the wall and enlarged the moat of the city he found twenty such inscribed objects deposited at the water level (No. 19). Such deposits call to mind the foundation deposits under the Egyptian temples. Similar deposits were discovered by Hogarth in the basis of the cult statue of the archaic Artemision of Ephesus.⁴⁴

The texts from Ashur bear out the statements of the "Synchronous History" with reference to the activities of Tukulti-Ninib.⁴⁵ The introduction of the account of the rebuilding of the palace at Ashur, which his father Shalmaneser had built (No. 18, 1 f.), gives a résumé of his conquests which extended to the lands of the Ukumani, Kurti, Kutmuhi, Nairi, and others to the north and west. Unfortunately the lines telling of his conquest of Sumer and Akkad are too illegible to afford a detailed picture of the events of this campaign.

Of interest is the title "Sun of all peoples," which appears for the first time in an Assyrian historical inscription (No. 19, 2). It is found a number of times in the later inscriptions—in those of Ashurnasir-pal, and Shalmaneser.⁴⁶ As is well known, this is the ordinary title given to the Egyptian Pharaoh in the el-Amarna Letters and the Boghaz Keui texts show that it was also applied to the Hittite kings.⁴⁷ It is possible that this title was borrowed by the Assyrian kings from the Hittites whom they were gradually conquering or pushing out of southern Asia Minor.

As we know from the "Synchronous History," Tukulti-Ninib ruled Babylonia seven years, after which he was slain in an uprising of the nobles of Assyria, who set his son Ashurnasir-pal upon the throne. With Tukulti-Ninib the early history of Assyria comes to an end.

Kikia (traditional builder of the city wall of Ashur)

*

Ushpia (traditional founder of the temple of Ashur)

*

Kate-Ashir

Shalim-ahum, s of,

⁴⁴ D. G. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus*, 238.

⁴⁵ Col. IV, 7 f.

⁴⁶ See Delitzsch, *HWB*, under *š a m š u*, and *KAA*, 77, Obv. 4. ⁴⁷ *MDOG*, No. 35, 32.

Ilu-shuma, s of, contemporary of Sumu-abum (*ca.* 2050 B.C.)

Irishum, s of,

Ikunum, s of,

•

? Shar-kenkate-Ashir

•

Bel-kabi (Irishum)

Shamshi-Adad, s of, (according to Esarhaddon, 126 years after

•

[ceding?]

Shamshi-Adad, contemporary of Hammurabi, (same as pre-

•

Ishme-Dagan [(*ca.* 1150 B.C.)

Shamshi-Adad, s of, *ca.* 1850 B.C., 701 years before Tiglath-pileser

•

Ishme-Dagan (II)

Ashir-nirari, s of,

•

Shamshi-Adad (III), *ca.* 1600 B.C. (but see n. 17, p. 157)

•

Ashir-rabu I

Ashir-nirari, s of, [p. 159).

Ashir-rim-nishe-shu, s of, contemporary of Karaindash? (See

•

Pusur-Ashir, contemporary of Burnaburiash

•

Ashir-rim(EN)-nishe-shu (II)

•

Ashur-nadin-ahe

•

Erba-Adad

Ashur-uballit I, s of,

•

Adad-nirari I (see No. 10)

•

Ashur-uballit II, contemporary of Amenhotep IV of Egypt,
Burnaburiash and successors, of Babylonia

Enlil-nirari, s of, contemporary of Kurigalzu, the younger

Arik-den-ilu, s of,

Adad-nirari, s of, contemporary of Nazi-maraddash

Shalmaneser I, s of,

Tukulti-Ninib I, s of, conqueror of Babylonia

IRISHUM

No. 1 (*KAA*, 1)

1. I-ri-š[um] 2. pa-te-si 3. A-šir-ma 4. mâr Ilu-šu-ma
5. pa-te-si 6. A-šir-m[a] 7. [Ilu]-šu-ma 8. [mâr]
Ša-lim-aḥum(?) 9. pa-te-si 10. A-šir-ma 11. Ša-lim-a-
ḥu-um 12. mâr Ka-te-[^dAšir] 13. pa-t[e-si A-šir]

No. 2 (*KAA*, 60)

1. I-ri-šum 2. pa-te-si 3. ^dA-šir 4. mâr Ilu-šu-ma
5. pa-te-si 6. ^dA-šir 7. a-na ba-la-ṭi(m)-šu 8. u ba-la-
aṭ 9. a-li-šu 10. bît ^dAdad 11. gi-me-ir-du-šu 12. i-bu-
uš 13. u ^uḏalâti^{p1} 14. iš-ku-un

No. 3 (*KAA*, 61)

1. I-ri-šum 2. pa-te-si 3. A-šir 4. mâr Ilu-šu-ma
5. pa-te-si 6. A-sir 7. a-na A-šir 8. be-li-šu 9. a-na
ba-la-ṭi-šu 10. u ba-la-aṭ 11. a-li-šu 12. nit(?) -ti 13.
gi-me-ir-ti 14. [i-bu-uš]

No. 1. For the order Kate-Ashir, Shalim-ahum, Ilu-shuma, Irishum, see *MDOG*, No. 26, 54 f.

ASHIR-NIRARI

No. 4 (*KAA*, 62)

1. ^dA-šir-ni-ra-ri 2. pa-te-si ^dA-šir 3. mâr Iš-me-
^dDa-gan 4. pa-te-si ^dA-šir 5. ba-ni bît ^dBêl-labira

SHAMSHI-ADAD III

No. 5 (*KAA*, 2)

Obv. Col. I. 1. ^dŠam-ši-^dAdad 2. šar kiššati 3. ba-ni
bît 4. ^dAšur 5. [m]u-uš-te-im-ki 6. ma-tim 7. bi-ri-it
^{nāru}Diḫlatim 8. u ^{nāru}Purâtim 9. i-na ki-bi-it 10. ^dAšur
11. ra-i-mi-šu 12. ša Anu u ^dEn-[lil] 13. [i]-na šarrâni^{p1}
14. [a]-li-ku-ut 15. [maḥ]-ra 16. [šum-šu] a-na ra-bi-e-tim
17. [ib]-bu-u 18. [bît^d] En-lil 19. [ša E]-ri-šum 20. [mâr

Col. I. 4. Ašur, written ^dA-USAR throughout this inscription.

L. 5. The first two signs, although rubbed, are evidently mu and uš. While the known verbal forms of the root ^pṣṣ have the meaning "to pray, be a suppliant," it seems probable that the form here used is to be regarded

IRISHUM (*ca.* 2000 B.C.)

No. 1

1. Irishum, 2. patesi 3. of Ashur, 4. son of Ilu-shuma, 5. patesi 6. of Ashur. 7. Ilu-shuma, 8. son of Shalim-ahum, 9. patesi 10. of Ashur. 11. Shalim-ahum, 12. son of Kate-Ashir, 13. patesi of Ashur.

No. 2

1. Irishum, 2. patesi of 3. Ashur, 4. son of Ilu-shuma, 5. patesi 6. of Ashur; 7. for his life 8. and the life of 9. his city, 10. the temple of Adad 11. in its totality, 12. he built, 13. and set up its doors.

No. 3

1. Irishum, 2. patesi 3. of Ashur, 4. son of Ilu-shuma, 5. patesi of 6. Ashur; 7. for Ashur 8. his lord, 9. for his life 10. and the life of 11. his city, 12. ————— 13. all of it, 14. he built.

No. 2. 9. This shows that ll. 9 f. of the inscription of Irishum, published by King, *Annals*, No. 1, is to be read *ana balâtišu u a-li-šu* (not *a-pil-šu*).

L. 11. For *ana gimirtišu*? Cf. following.

ASHIR-NIRARI I (*ca.* 1800 B.C.)

No. 4

1. Ashir-nirari, 2. patesi of Ashur, 3. son of Ishme-Dagan, 4. patesi of Ashur, 5. builder of the temple of the elder Bel.

SHAMSHI-ADAD (III? *ca.* 1600 B.C.)

No. 5

Obv. Col. I. 1. Shamshi-Adad, 2. king of the universe, 3. builder of the temple of 4. Ashur; 5. who devotes his energies to 6. the land 7. between the Tigris 8. and the Euphrates. 9. At the command 10. of Ashur 11. who loves him, 12. whose name Anu and Enlil, 13. among (i.e., above) the kings 14. who had gone 15. before, 16-17. had named for great (deeds): 18. the

as a denominative (in the causative-reflexive) of *emûku*, and may be translated "who devotes his energies, powers to."

L. 12. Anu, written with the *ilu*-sign only.

L. 16. *Ana rabîtim*, for a great (thing). The usual expressions are: *ana bêlût mâtâti*, *ana rê'ût mâti*, and the like.

Ilu]-šum-ma 21. [i-b]u-šu 22. [e-na]-aḫ-ma 23. [pi-ti]-iḫ-šu-ma Col. II. 1. bīt 𐎶En-lil 2. be-li-ia 3. parakkam ra-aš-ba-am 4. wa-ad-ma-nam 5. ra-bi-e-im 6. šu-ba-at 𐎶En-lil 7. be-li-ia 8. ša i-na ši-bi-ir 9. ne-[me-iḫ] 10. i-ti-nu-tim 11. šu-te-iṣ-[ṣir] 12. i-na ki-ri-ib 13. Ašur^{ki} a-[li-ia] 14. bītam ^{iṣu}[erinam] 15. u-ša-l[i-lu] 16. i-na bābāt^{im} 17. ^{iṣu}dalāt^{im} ^{iṣu}erinim 18. ša mul-ši-na kaspum ḫurāšum 19. uš-zi-iz 20. i-ga-ra-[te] bīt^{im} 21. i-na kaspim ḫurāšim 22. ^{abnu}uknīm ^{abnu}sāndim 23. šaman erinim šamn^{im} rēšt^{im} Col. III. 1. dišpim u ḫimē[^{tim}] 2. ši-la-ra-am a-ši-il 3. bīt 𐎶En-lil 4. be-li-ia 5. uš-te-iṣ-bi-ma 6. E-am-kur-kur-ra 7. bīt ri-im ma-ta-a-tim 8. bīt 𐎶En-lil 9. be-li-ia 10. i-na ki-ri-ib a-li-ia 11. Ašur^{ki} 12. šum-šu a-ab-bi 13. i-nu-ma bīt 𐎶En-lil 14. be-li-ia 15. e-bu-šu 16. maḫīr a-li-ia 17. Ašur^{ki} 18. a-na 1 šiḫil kaspim 19. 2 gur šeim 20. a-na 1 šiḫil kaspim 21. 25 ma-na šipāt^{im} 22. a-na 1 šiḫil kaspim 23. 12 ka šamn^{im} Col. IV. 1. i-na maḫīr a-li-ia 2. Ašur^{ki} 3. lu-u iš-ša-am 4. i-ṇu-mi-šu 5.

L. 23. The restoration of the first two signs is conjectural. On the other hand the restorations in lines 16 to 22 are based on parallel texts (cf. p. 73 of *KAA*).

Col. II. L. 4. This form shows that the word *admānu* is derived from a root 𐎶𐎶 not 𐎶𐎶. Cf. the forms *wardum*, *warku*, etc., in the Code of Hammurabi.

L. 9. The second sign is *me* (cf. *KAA*, p. 73). The last is conjectural, but the traces point to *iḫ*, as does the context.

L. 10. *Itinūt^{im}*, abstract (?) noun from a root *adānu* or the like. Cf. Brunnow 9117 (= II R. 58. 59b), where the god *DIM* is equated with the god *Ea* ša i-din-ni. *Ea*, as *NU-DIM-MUD*, is called *ša nabnūti*, that is (god) of creation (IIR 58. 54). The sign *DIM* has the value *banū*, to build, and in view of the forms quoted it seems reasonable to infer that it also had a value *adānu* with a similar meaning. For the whole passage compare the expression in Sennacherib, Prism, VI, 54 f., *ina šipir amēl dim-gallē mūšab bēlūtia ušēpiš*. Esarhaddon built the foundation of the temple of Marduk according to the teaching of *NU-DIM-MUT*, *uššēšu ušaḫiza* 𐎶NU-DIM-MUT aršip, *BA*, III, 248, ll. 26 f. [See also Landsberger's note in *ZA*, XXV, 384 f., which reached me after my article was in type.]

L. 11. *Permansive* III₂ of 𐎶𐎶.

temple of Enlil, 19. which Erishum 20. son of Ilushuma 21. had built, 22-23. and whose structure had fallen to ruins: Col. II. 1. the temple of Enlil 2. my lord, 3. a magnificent shrine, 4-5. a spacious abode, 6. the dwelling of Enlil 7. my lord, 8. which, according to the plan 9. of wise 10. architects (?) 11. had been planned, 12-13. in my city Ashur, 14-15. (that) temple I roofed with cedars; 16-19. in the entrances I placed doors of cedar, covered with gold and silver. 20—Col. III. 2. The walls of (that) temple—upon silver, gold, lapislazuli, sându-stone, cedar-oil, choice oil, honey and butter I laid the mud-walls. 3. The temple of Enlil 4. my lord, 5. I enclosed (with a wall), and 6. Eamkurkurra, 7. “the temple of the wild-ox of the lands,” 8. the temple of Enlil 9. my lord, 10-11. in my city Ashur, 12. I called its name. 13-15. When I built the temple of my lord Enlil, 16-17. the (standard) price(s) in my city Ashur (were as follows): 18-19. For one shekel of silver, two gur of grain, 20-21. for one shekel of silver, twenty-five mana of wool, 22-23. for one shekel of silver, twelve ka of oil, Col. IV. 1-3. according to the (standard) price(s) of my city Ashur, were bought. 4. At that time, 5. the tribute of the

L. 14. The *erina*m is conjectural, but seems to be the reading demanded by the context. Such expressions as “beams of cedar, etc., *elišu ušalil*, *erinum šulûlišu*, *ana šulûli . . . ušatriš*,” are common in the building inscriptions. If the restoration suggested is correct, the expression here used is parallel to these, differing only in the syntactical arrangement of the words.

L. 15. Last two signs partly conjectural.

L. 18. Cf. the usual expressions for the covering of doors: *dalâte erini taḥlubti siparri*, *iḥiz kaspi ḥurâši u taḥlubti siparri*, *mêsir kaspi u siparri*. *Mul* probably has a similar meaning. To be derived from לָמֹט (*lamû*, *lawû*)? Cf. Heb. לָמֹט.

Ll. 20f. Cf. Shalmaneser, No. 14, Col. IV, 23f.

Col. III. L. 5. III₂ of צָבָא, which, according to S^c 39. 40, has same meaning as *lamû*.

Ll. 6f. Cf. the common custom of translating the Sumerian names of the temples in the neo-Babylonian period.

Col. IV. L. 6. Cf. *Turuḫi* of the inscriptions of Adad-nirari, Nos. 8f., of which *Tukriš* may be an earlier form.

L. 15. *Labân*, hardly, as Streck (*ZA*, XX, 460) suggests, the same as *Labanada* of the Cappadocian tablets. In the same place he suggests the

bi-la-at šarrānim^{pl} 6. ša Tu-uḫ-ri-iš^{ki} 7. u šar ma-a-tim 8. e-li-tim 9. i-na ki-ri-ib a-li-ia 10. Ašur^{ki} 11. lu am-ta-ḫa-ar 12. šu-mi ra-bi-e-im 13. u na-ri-ia 14. i-na ma-a-at 15. La-ab-a-an^{ki} 16. i-na a-aḫ tâmtim 17. ra-bi-i-tim 18. lu-u aš-ku-un 19. i-nu-ma bîtum i-na-ḫu-ma 20. ma-am-ma-an 21. i-na šarrānim^{pl} 22. ma-ri-ia Col. V. 1. ša bîtam u-ud-da-šu 2. te-im-me-ni-ia 3. u na-ri-e-ia 4. šamnam li-ib-šu-uš 5. ni-ḫi-a-am li-iḫ-ḫi-ma 6. a-na aš-ri-šu-nu 7. li-te-ir-šu-nu-ti 8. ša te-im-me-ni-ia 9. u na-ri-e-ia 10. šamnam la i-pa-aš-ša-šu 11. ni-ḫi-a-am la i-na-aḫ-ḫu-ma 12. a-na aš-ri-šu-nu 13. la u-ta-ar-ru-šu-nu-ti 14. u-duš(?) -ma na-ri-e-ia 15. u-na-ak-ka-ru-u-ma 16. šu-mi u-ša-za-ku-ma 17. šum-šu i-ša-aṭ-ṭa-ru 18. i-na e-bi-ri-im 19. i-ḫi-bi-ru 20. a-na me-e 21. i-na-ad-du-u 22. šarrum ša-a-ti Col. VI. 1. [^dEn-lil u] ^dAdad 2. . . . ma-a-tim 3. . . . šu 4. -ku-tu 5. [i-na] pa-an šarrim 6. [na]-ki-ri-šu 7. . . -aš] u um-ma-na-tu-šu 8. . . -a] i-ib-ri-ḫu 9. ^dNergal 10. i-na ka-aš-ka-ši-im 11. i-ši-it-ta-šu 12. u i-ši-it-ti ma-ti-šu 13. li-ir-ta-ad-di 14. [^dIstar ilat kabli] 15. [be]-li-it ta-ḫa-zi-im 16. ¹u^u kakka-šu u ¹u^u kak 17. um-ma-na-ti-šu 18. li-iš-bi-ir 19. ^dSin ilum tal-lim-ia 20. [lu-u]-ra-bî (?) 21. li-mu-ti-šu 22. a-na da-ri-e-tim

identity of Tigris in Urartu and Tuḫriš. Whether this name is to be connected with Lebanon, or Laban, or not, it seems better to regard the "great sea" as the Mediterranean, rather than the Black Sea (Meyer, *op. cit.*, § 593), for which the name "upper sea" would have been more fitting. Tiglath-pileser I, Cyl. Insc., Col. IV, 96f., uses the term "upper sea," tâmtim elinîti, for the sea of the Nairi region, while in Col. VI, 43f., the upper sea of the west (ša šalāmu Šamši) is located in the Hatti country. Certainly in the later inscriptions the term "great sea" usually refers to the Mediterranean. As a rule the context gives the clue as to which region is referred to. In the rock inscription of Sebeñeh Su, III R. 4, No. 6, Tiglath-pileser distinguishes between the great sea of the land of Amurru and the sea of the land of Nairi. The determinative ki shows that Labān was a city.

kings of 6. Tukrish 7-8. and of the king of the upper country 9-11. I received in my city Ashur. 12. A great name 13. and a (lit. my) memorial stela 14-18. I set up in the country of Labân on the shore of the great sea (the Mediterranean). 19. When that temple shall have fallen to decay, and 20-22. one of the kings of my line (lit. someone among the kings, my sons) Col. V. 1. shall restore it, 2-4. let him anoint my foundation-cylinder and my memorial-stela with oil, 5-7. let him pour out libations upon them and return them to their places. 8-10. Whoever does not anoint my foundation-cylinder and memorial-stela with oil, 11-13. does not pour libations upon them and does not restore them to their places, 14-15. but shall rebuild the temple (?) and shall alter my memorial stela, 16. shall blot out my name 17. and inscribe his own name (upon it), 18-19. or shall cover it with earth, 20-21. or throw it into the water: that king, Col. VI. 1. (may Enlil and) Adad 2. land 3. . . . his . . 4. 5. before (?) a king 6. who is his enemy (?) 7. . . and his forces 8. . . . strike with lightning. 9-13. May Nergal in violence bring about his destruction and the destruction of his land. 14. (May Ishtar, goddess of battle, 15. mistress of war) 16-18. shatter his arms and the arms of his hosts. 19-22. May Sin, my patron, increase (?) his evil for all time to come.

Col. V. 16. Cf. the common *usazakûni* in the older texts, Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI*, 163, 164, 167, 171, 181, and *ušazik* in the Code of Hammurabi (Harper, under *nazâku*). The form in the later texts is *ušamsaku* (Delitzsch, *HWB*, *masâku*). It is interesting to note the parallels between the curses of this and the later Assyrian inscriptions and those in the epilogue to the Code. They had probably become stereotyped long before Hammurabi's day.

Col. VI. 1-8, badly rubbed.

Ll. 14-15. The restoration of the first line is conjectural, but based on the probable reading of the following line.

L. 19. Tallimia, companion, here patron, cf. Arabic *weli*.

ASHIR-RIM-NISHE-SHU I

No. 6 (KAA, 63)

1. ^mA-šir-ri-im-ni-še-šu. 2. pa-te-si ^dA-šir 3. mâr
^dA-šir-ni-ra-ri 4. pa-te-si ^dA-šir mâr ^dA-šir-rabû 5. pa-
 te-si dûru ša ^mKi-ki-a ^mI-ku-nu-um 6. ^mŠar-ki-en-
 ka-te-^dA-šir 7. ^dA-šir-ni-ra-ri mâr Iš-me-^dDa-gan
 8. ab-ba-ia u-ub-bi-šu-ni e-na-aḥ-ma 9. a-na ba-la-ṭi-ia
 u ša-la-am ali-ia 10. iš-tu uš-še-šu a-di ša-ap-ti-šu
 11. e-bu-uš u zi-ga-ti-šu a-na aš-ri-si-na 12. u-te-ir
 ru-ba-u ur-ki-u 13. e-nu-ma dûru šu-tu e-nu-ḥu-ma
 14. e-ib-bu-šu ^dA-šir u ^dAdad 15. ik-ri-bi-šu i-ša-mi-
 u-šu 16. zi-ga-ti-šu a-na aš-ri-si-na 17. lu-te-ir.

L. 9. Cf. the expression ana balâṭišu u balâṭ ališu in the inscriptions of Irishum (Nos. 2 and 3).

L. 10. Šaptu, coping, cf. šapat būri.

ASHIR-RIM-NISHE-SHU II

No. 7 (KAA, 58)

1. . . A-šir-ma a-na . . 2. . . li-šu dûru rabû . . 3. . .
^mPu-su-ur-^dA-šir . . 4. . . . dûru šu-a-tu dûru
 e-bu-šu 5. . . dûru rabû ša lib-bi a-lim ḵa-du nâri
 6. . . . u-la-ab-bi-is-su 7. -du ša-ap-ti-šu
 e-bu-uš 8. aš-ku-un ru-bu-u ur-ki-u 9. . . .
 e-nu-ḥu-ma e-ib-bu-šu 10. ^dAdad ik-ri-bi-šu
 11. zi-ig-ga-ti 12. lu-te-ir.

ASHUR-UBALLIT I

No. 8 (KAA, 64)

1. ^mA-šur-uballiṭ 2. pa-te-si ^dA-šur 3. mâr Erba-
^dAdad 4. pa-te-[si] ^dA-šur-ma 5. e-nu-ma ^dA-šur be-li
 6. Pa-at-ti-duḥ-di 7. a-bi-la-at ḥegalli 8. u nuḥsu 9.
 a-na e-pi-ši lu id(?) -di(?) -na 10. būru ša U-bal-iṭ-še-šu
 šum-ša 11. ša ia-a-ar-ḥi-ša ku-tal(?) tam-li-e 12. 10 i-na
 am-me-ti 13. šu-pu-ul-ša a-di me-e 14. ša i-na pa-na
 15. ^mA-šur-na-din-a-ḥi 16. pa-te-si ^dA-šur 17. iḥ-ru-ši

L. 6. Ashur-nasir-pal, in his rebuilding of Calah, dug a Pattiḥegalli canal, beginning at the Upper Zab. (*Annals*, Col. III, 135).



ASHIR-RIM-NISHE-SHU I (ca. 1450 B.C.?)

No. 6

1. Ashir-rim-nishe-shu, 2. patesi of Ashur, 3. son of Ashir-nirari, 4. patesi of Ashur, son of Ashir-rabu, 5. patesi. The wall which Kikia, Ikunum, 6. Shar-ken-kate-Ashir, 7. Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan, 8. my ancestors, had built, had fallen to ruins and 9. for my life and the safety of my city, 10. from its foundation to its coping, 11. I rebuilt it and returned its phallic cylinders to their places. 12. May some future prince, 13. when that wall shall have fallen to ruins, 14. restore it. Ashur and Adad 15. will hear his prayers. 16. His phallic cylinders let him return to their places.

L. 11. For a discussion of the word *zigâti* (*ziḫâti*) see *MDOG*, No. 32, 25n. In No. 22. 26, there is published an illustration of a clay phallus, which seems to have been the original of the "cones" of the earlier period (Gudea, etc.), as well as of the barrel-shaped temena of later times.

ASHIR-RIM-NISHE-SHU II (AFTER ca. 1400 B.C. ?)

No. 7

1. . . . Ashur and to . . 2. his city (?), great wall . . . 3. . . which Pusur-Ashur had built (?) . . . 4. that wall . . . 5. . . the great wall which is in the midst of the city, up to the river. . 6. I (?) enclosed 7. . . . to its coping I rebuilt it 8. . . . (my memorial stela) I set up. May some future prince . . 9. (when that wall) shall have become weak, restore it, 10. (and Bel and) Adad will hear his prayers. 11-12. . . phallic-cylinders let him return (to their places).

ASHUR-UBALLIT I (ca. 1400 B.C.?)

No. 8

1. Ashur-uballit, 2. patesi of Ashur, 3. son of Erba-Adad, 4. patesi of Ashur. 5. When the lord Ashur 6-9. commanded the construction of the Patti-duhdi (canal), which brings plenty and abundance, 10. the well whose name is Uballit-sheshu, 11. whose iarhi . . . the terrace, 12. ten cubits was 13. its depth, (reaching) to the (nether) waters, 14-15. which Ashur-nadin-ahi 16. patesi

L. 11. I am not able to offer a translation of this line. *Kutal* (?) *tamlê*, cf. No. 13, Rev. 2.

18. i-na pi-li ku-du(?) -ri(?) 19. a-gur-ri pi-li 20. i-na
 ti-bi ša būri kun-nu 21. a-na ši-bar ^ukirī 22. e-pi-ši
 lid-da na-da-a 23. e-pi-ra lu-u-me-li-ši 24. a-na arkāt
 ūmē^u ūmi(mi) 25. šarru ša būru ša-a-ti 26. i-ḥa(?) -ša-
 ḥu-ši 27. ib-ri-ša 28. li-še-la-am-ma 29. u me-e-ša 30.
 li-ik-šu-ud.

L. 21. Ši-bar or ši-par(?) Meaning not clear.

L. 24. Ūmē is written twice. The second to be translated "when?"

ADAD-NIRARI II

No. 9 (KAA, 3)

Obv. 1. ^mAdad-nirari ru-bu-u el-lu si-mat ili 2. e-ti-
 el-lu ša-ka-an-ki ilāni^u 3. mu-ki-in ma-ḥa-zi ni-ir
 dap-nu-ti 4. um-ma-an Kaš-ši-i Ku-ti-i Lu-lu-me-i 5. u
 Šu-ba-ri-i mu-ḥi-ip kul-la-at 6. na-ki-ri e-li-iš u šap-
 li-iš 7. da-iš ma-ta-ti-šu-nu iš-tu Lu-ub-di 8. u ^mRa-
 pi-ḫu a-di E-lu-ḥa-at 9. ṣa-bi-it ki-iš-ša-at ni-ši 10.
 mu-ra-pi-iš mi-iṣ-ri u ku-du-ri 11. šarru ša napḥar ma-
 al-ki u ru-be-e 12. ^dA-nu ^dAššur ^dŠamaš ^dAdad u ^dIštar
 13. a-na še-pi-šu u-še-ik-ni-šu 14. ša-an-gu-u ṣi-ru ša
^dEn-lil 15. mār ^mA-ri-ik-di-en-ilu ša-ak-ni ^dEn-lil 16.
 iš-ša-ak-ki ^dAššur ka-ši-id 17. ^mTu-ru-ki-i u ^mNi-
 gi-im-ṭi 18. a-di pa-aṭ gi-im-ri-šu gi-me-ir 19. ma-al-ku
 šadī(i) u ḥu-ur-ša-ni 20. pa-aṭ Ku-ti-i ra-pal-ti 21. gu-
 nu Aḥ-la-me-i u Su-ti-i 22. Ia-u-ri u ma-ta-ti-šu-nu
 23. mu-ra-pi-iš mi-iṣ-ri u ku-du-ri 24. mār mārī ša
^mdEn-lil-nirari 25. iš-ša-ak-ki ^dAššur-ma ša um-ma-an
 26. Kaš-ši-i i-na-ru-ma u na-ga-ab 27. za-e-ri-šu ḫa-su
 ik-šu-du 28. mu-ra-pi-iš mi-iṣ-ri u ku-du-ri 29. li-ip-
 li-pi ša ^mdAššur-uballiṭ 30. šarru dan-nu ša ša-an-gu-su
 i-na ekurri 31. ra-aš-bi šu-tu-rat u šu-lu-um šarru-ti-šu
 32. a-na ru-ḫa-ti ki-ma ša-di-i ku-un-nu 33. mu-si-pi-iḫ
 el-la-at ^mŠu-ba-ri-i ra-pal-ti 34. mu-ra-pi-iš mi-iṣ-ri
 u ku-du-ri 35. e-nu-ma dūr ali eššu ša pa-ni nārī 36.
 ša ḥal-ṣi ti-sa-ri 37. ša ^mPu-ṣur-^dAššur a-bi šarru a-lik
 pa-ni-ia 38. i-na pa-na e-bu-šu 2½ libittu ku-bar-šu

of Ashur 17. had dug aforetime, 18. with limestone 19-20. a wall of limestone reaching to the bottom of the well. 21-22. To make of a park, I threw down its falling (walls), 23. and filled it with dirt. 24. In the days to come, 25. when some king desires (to use) that well, 27-28. let him have the dirt removed 29-30. and then he may reach its waters.

L. 26. The second sign is probably *ḫa*. *Ši* is evidently the suffixed pronoun, and the verb a Qal present.

ADAD-NIRARI II (ca. 1300 B.C.)

No. 9

1. Adad-nirari, illustrious prince, honored of god, 2. lord, viceroy of the gods, 3. city-founder, destroyer of the mighty 4. hosts of Cassites, Kutu, Lulumi, 5. and Shubari; who destroys all 6. foes, north and south; 7. who tramples down their lands from Ludbu and 8. Rapiku to Eluhāt; 9. who captures all peoples, 10. enlarges boundary and frontier; 11. the king, to whose feet all kings and princes, 12. Anu, Ashur, Shamash, Adad and Ishtar 13. have brought in submission; 14. the exalted priest of Enlil, 15. son of Arik-den-ilu, prefect of Enlil, 16. viceroy of Ashur, who conquered 17. the lands of Turuki and Nigimti 18. in their totality, together with all of their 19. kings, mountains and highlands, 20. the territory of the wide-spreading Kutu, 21. the region of the Ahlami and Suti, 22. the Iauri and their lands; 23. who enlarged boundary and frontier; 24. grandson of Enlil-nirari, 25. viceroy of Ashur, who destroyed the armies 26. of the Cassites, whose hand overcame all of 27. his foes, 28. who enlarged the boundary and frontier; 29. great-grandson of Ashur-uballit 30. the mighty king, whose priesthood in the great temple 31. was glorious, the peace of whose reign 32. to distant lands was established (firm) as a mountain; 33. who destroyed the armies of the wide-spreading Shubari, 34. who enlarged boundary and frontier. 35. When the wall of the new city (or the new wall of the city) which is opposite the river (faces the river) 36. (and) which is provided with an encasing-wall (?), 37. which my ancestor Pusur-Ashur who reigned before me 38. had built aforetime; (when) two and one-

39. 30 ti-ip-ki mu-la-šu e-na-aḥ iḥ-ta-bi-it 40. u mi-lu
 it-bal-šu ašar-šu u-ni-ki-ir 41. dan-na-su ak-šu-ud 10
 libittu i-na na-al-ba-ni-i 42. rabi-i u-ḫi(?) -bi-ir iš-di-šu
 i-na ki-ḡi-ir šadī(i) 43. dan-ni lu ar-me iš-tu uš-še-šu
 44. a-di ga-ba-di-bi-šu e-bu-uš na-a-bi-šu 45. . . lu-ut
 mē^{pl} i-na [pi-l]i a-gu-ur-ri. (Rev.) 1. u ku-up-ri ak-si-
 ir i-na 2. i-na ki-si-ir-ti pi-li a-gur-[ri] 3. u ku-
 up-ri pa-ni nāri-šu aḡ-bat 4. u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un 5. a-
 na ar-ka-at ūmē^{pl} ru-bu-u ar-ku-u 6. e-nu-ma dūru šu-
 u u-šal-ba-ru-ma 7. e-na-ḡu u lu-u mi-lu i-tab-ba-lu-uš
 8. an-ḡu-su lu-di-iš na-ri-ia u šu-me šaṭ-ra 9. a-na aš-
 ri-šu lu-te-ir ^dAššur ik-ri-be-šu 10. i-še-im-me ša šu-me
 šaṭ-ra i-pa-ši-ṭu-ma 11. šu-um-šu i-ša-ṭa-ru u lu-u na-
 ri-ia 12. u-ša-am-sa-ku a-na ša-aḥ-lu-uḫ-ti 13. i-ma-
 nu-u i-na mi-lim i-na-du-u 14. i-na e-pi-ri u-ka-ta-mu
 u(?) i-na iššati 15. i-ḫa-lu-u a-na mē^{pl} i-na-du-u a-na
 bīt asaki 16. a-šar la a-ma-ri u-še-ri-bu-ma 17. i-ša-
 ka-nu u lu-(u) aš-šum ir-ri-ti 18. ši-na-ti-na na-ka-ra
 a-ḡa-a ia-a-ba 19. li-im-ma li-ša-na na-kar-ta 20. lu-u
 ma-am-ma ša-na-a u-ma-a-ru-ma 21. u-ša-ḡa-zu u lu
 mi-im-ma 22. i-ḡa-sa-sa-ma e-bu-šu 23. ^dAššur iluḡi-ru
 a-ši-ib E-ḡar-sag-kur-kur-ra 24. ^dA-nu ^dEn-lil ^dE-a u
^dIštar 25. ilāni^{pl} rabūti^{pl} ^dI-gi-gu ša šamē(e) 26. ^dA-
 nun-na-ku ša ir-ḡi-ti i-na napḡar-šu-nu 27. iz-zi-iš li-
 ki-el-mu-šu-ma 28. ir-ri-ta ma-ru-uš-ta ag-gi-iš 29.
 li-ru-ru-uš šu-um-šu zēra-šu el-la-su 30. u ki-im-ta-šu
 i-na ma-ti lu-ḡal-li-ḫu 31. na-aš-pu-uḡ māti-šu ḡa-la-
 ak ni-ši-šu 32. u ku-du-ri-šu ina pī-šu-nu ka-ab-ta 33.
 li-ḡa-am-ma ^dAdad i-na ri-ḡi-iḡ 34. li-mu-ti li-ir-ḡi-ḡu
 a-bu-bu 35. im-ḡul-lu sa-aḡ-ma-aš-tu ti-šu-u 36. a-ša-

Obv. 1-34 and Rev. 6 to end, cf. the inscription of Adad-nirari published in King's *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, 4f.

L. 38. Ku-bar, perhaps foundation.

L. 39. Mula, cf. Col. II, 18, of the inscription of Shamshi-Adad (No. 5), where mul is used for the usual taḡlubti, covering. Iḡtabit seems to have the same meaning as énaḡ. Cf. No. 10, Rev. 2. Ḥabātu usually refers to the plundering of people.

half (layers of) brick of its kubar (and) 39. thirty tipki of its encasing-wall had become weak and had given way, 40. and the waters had overflowed it and obliterated all traces of it (made its place unknown), 41. I dug down to its foundations, and ten (layers of) the (adobe) brickwork I covered (?) with a strong encasing-wall of burnt brick. 42. Its foundations I established upon huge blocks of stone from the mountain. 43. From its foundation 44. to its coping I rebuilt its nābi 45. the . . of waters with a wall of burnt brick (Rev.) 1. and bitumen I dammed up. 2. With a quay of stone, burnt brick and bitumen 3. I enclosed its riverward-side, 4. and set up my memorial tablet. 5. In the days to come, may some future prince, 6. when that wall shall become old 7. and fall into ruins, when the high-water shall overflow it, 8. restore its ruins, return my memorial stela with (and) my inscription 9. to its place and Ashur will hear his prayers. 10. Whoever shall blot out my name 11. and write his own name (in its place), or shall break my memorial stela, 12. or shall consign it to destruction, 13. or throw it into the river, 14. or shall cover it with earth, 15. or cast it into the fire, or into the water, or shall take it into a dark chamber 16. where it cannot be seen, and 17. shall set it up therein, 18. or if anyone because of these curses shall send a hostile foe or an evil 19. enemy, or an evil tongue (that is, a slanderer), 20. or any other man, 21. and shall have him seize it, or if he plan 22. and carry out any other plot against it, 23. may Ashur the mighty god, who dwells in Ehar-sagkurkurra, 24. Anu, Enlil, Ea, and Ishtar, 25. the great gods, the Igigu of heaven, 26. the Anunaku of earth all of them (lit. in their totality), 27. look upon him in great anger, and 28. curse him with an evil curse. 29. His name, his seed, his kith and kin 30. may they destroy from the land. 31. The destruction of his land, the ruin of his people and his boundary, 32. may they

L. 44. As Delitzsch pointed out in *MDOG*, 22, 73, this passage shows that the word usually transliterated taḥ-lu-bi has no connection with the verb ḫalāpu (from which, however, the noun taḫlubtu is derived), but is to be read gab-dib-bi. This explains the variant reading gab-dib-šu-nu of the building inscription of Ashur-resh-ishi (King, *Annals*, 21, n. 7), as well as the gab-bi-dib-šu of text A of the Cylinder Inscription of Tiglath-pileser I, Col. VII, 85 (King, *Annals*, 97, n. 3).

am-šu-tu su-un-ku bu-bu-tu 37. a-ru-ur-tu hu-ša-hu
i-na mâti-šu lu ka-ia-an 38. mât-su a-bu-bi-iš lu-uš-
ba-i 39. a-na ti-li u kar-me lu-te-ir 40. ^dAdad i-na
bi-ri-iḫ li-mu-ti 41. mât-su li-ib-ri-iḫ.

^{arab} Mu-ḥur-ilâni^{pl} ūmu l^{kam} li-mu

Ana- ^dAššur-ḫa-al-la rab Ekallim(lim).

No. 10 (KAA, 4)

Obv. (Lines 1 to 28 are the same as lines 1 to 34 of the preceding inscription, with the following exceptions: After l. 20 add, ka-ši-id ^{m*}Ku-ut-mu-[ḫi] u na-gab ri-ṣi-šu; after l. 32 add mu-še-ik-ni-iš ^{m*}Mu-uṣ-[ri].)

29. e-nu-ma dūru ali eššu rabâ(a) ša mu-li-e ša [pâni nâri] 30. ša iš-tu dūri rabê(e) ša lib-bi ali a-na si . . . 31. a-di nâri ša ^mPu-sur-^dA-šur a-bi šarru 32. a-lik pa-ni-ia i-na pa-na e-bu-šu dūru ša-a-tu 33. ^m^dA-šur-rim(EN)-ni-še-šu a-bi-ma u-la-bi-is-su 34. -i(?) -tu-ur e-na-aḫ-ma 35. ^mErba-^dAdad pa-te-si ^dA-šur a-bi-ma 36. šarru a-lik pa-ni-ia a-di abullâti-šu 37. u(?) a-sa-ia-te-šu a-li-ik dūr a-li u-la-bi-[is-su]. (Rev.) 1. dūru(?) ma-aḫ-ta iš-tu uš-še-šu a-di gab-dib-bi-šu e-bu-uš 2. dūru šu-u e-na-aḫ-ma iḫ-ta-bi-it ^m^dAdad-nir[ari] pa-te-si ^dAšur 3. an-ḫu-su u-di-iš an-ša aḫ-ta dūru(?) ma-aḫ-ta iš-tu uš-še-šu 4. a-di gab-dib-bi-šu e-bu-uš 14 libittu i-na na-al-ba-ni-ia rabf u-[ki-bi]-ir 5. u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un na-ri-e ša ab-bi-ia 6. it-ti na-ri-ia-ma aš-ku-un 7. a-na ar-ka-at ūmê^{pl} ru-bu-u ar-ku-u 8. e-nu-ma dūru šu-u

L. 20. The writing Ku-ut-mu-ḫi is interesting. No doubt the name is to be read Kutmuḫi in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser as well, that is, the kat sign had the value kut as well as kum. In No. 14, Col. III, 19, the reading is Kut(tar-kut sign)-mu-ḫi. In the later inscriptions however the t was lost.

L. 29. Cf. No. 9, Obv. 35.

L. 33. It may be necessary to distinguish between Ashur-rim-nishe-shu and Ashur-bêl-nishe-shu. The names however have the same meaning, namely, "Ashur is lord of his peoples." If we read the names differently, the second Ashur-rim-nishe-shu (above p. 159) is to be replaced by Ashur-bel-nishe-shu.

decree by their fateful command. 33. May Adad overwhelm him 34. with an evil downpour, may flood and storm, 35. confusion and tumult, 36. tempest, want, and famine, 37. drought and hunger continue in his land. 38. May Adad pour his floods upon his land, 39. turn it into ruins and wastes, 40. and destroy his land with his destructive lightning.

The month Muhur-ilani, the first day; the eponymy (year) of Ana-Ashur-kalla, the major domo.

No. 10

Obv. 1-28 are the same as 1-34 of the preceding inscription with the following exceptions: After 20, add "conqueror of the land of Kutmuhi and all of its allies." After 32, add "who subjugated the land of Musri." Note that the first phrase refers to Arik-den-ilu and the second to Ashur-uballit.

29. When the great wall of the new city with a rampart facing the river (?), 30. and which extends (?) from the great wall of the middle of the city to . . . 31. up to the river, which Pusur-Ashur, my ancestor, a king who lived before my time, 32. had built afore-time; that wall 33. my ancestor Ashur-rim-nishe-shu enclosed (with a new encasing wall) 34. . . and became weak, then 35. my ancestor Erba-Adad, patesi of Ashur, 36. a king who lived before my time, 37. covered it (with a new encasing wall) up to its gates and piers, the whole length of the city wall (?). (Rev.) 1. The wall which had fallen (or the fallen parts of the wall) he rebuilt from its foundation to its coping. 2. That wall became weak and fell into ruins (once more) and Adad-nirari, patesi of Ashur, 3. repaired it, (then) I tore it down completely (?) and rebuilt the fallen wall from its foundation 4. to its coping. I encased it with a (lit. my) great encasing wall of burnt brick, fourteen brick deep (?) 5. and set up my memorial

— — —

L. 37. Rubbed, context obscure.

Rev. 2. The restoration of the name Adad-nirari is based on Delitzsch's notes on p. 73 of K.A.A. The nirari is not certain, but the traces clearly point to this reading. If this reading is correct we must place an Adad-nirari I between the Adad-nirari of these inscriptions and Erba-Adad, unless Adad-nirari, the author of the inscription, is meant. This is not impossible.

9. u-šal-ba-ru-ma e-na-ḥu an-ḥu-su lu-di-iš 10. šu-me
 šaṭ-ra na-ri-ia u ti-me-ni-ia 11. a-na aš-ri-šu-nu lu-
 te-ir ^dA-šur ik-ri-be-šu 12. i-še-me (etc. like preceding).
 36. (after ^mAdad ina biriḫ mātsu libriḫ) ^dBêltu a-bi-iḫ
 mât[i-šu] 37. i-na pa-ni na-ak-ri-šu ia iz-zi-iz a-na
 mat(?)

^{arab}Kar-ra-a-tu li-mu^m(?).

No. 11 (KAA, 5)

(Lines 1 to 32 are same as preceding with the following exceptions:

8. a-di E-lu-ḥa-at ka-ši-id ^{alu}Ta-i-di 9. ^{alu}Šu-ri ^{alu}-[Ka-]
 ḥa-at ^{alu}A-ma-sa-ki 10. ^{alu}Ḥu-ur-ra ^{alu}Šu-du-ḥi ^{alu}Na-
 bu-la 11. ^{alu}Uš-šu-ka-ni u ^{alu}Ir-ri-di 12. si-ḥi-ir-ti
 Ka-ši-ia-e-ri a-di E-lu-ḥa-at 13. ḥal-ši ^{alu}Su-di ḥal-ši
 Ḥa-ra-ni a-di ^{alu}Kar-ga-miš 14. ša a-aḥ ^{nari}Pu-ra-ti
 ṣa-bi-it kiš-šat ni-ši etc.)

22. (after paṭ Ḳuti rapalti) ka-ši-id ^{mat}Ku-ut-mu-ḥi
 u na-gab ri-ḡi-šu etc.

31. (After šarrûtišu ana ruḫâte kîma šadî kunnu)
 mu-še-ik-ni-iš ^{mat}Mu-uṣ-ri mu-si-pi-iḥ el-la-at 32.
^{mat}Šu-ba-ri-e etc.)

33. e-nu-ma ekallu ali-ia ^dAššur ša ^{md}Aššur-nirari
 34. li(m)-li-it-ti ab-be-ia šarru a-lik pa-ni-ia i-na pa-
 na 35. e-bu-šu i-ga-ru ša ri-iš ba-a-be ša ḥaṭ-ṭi (Lower
 Edge) 36. ša tar-ḡi pi-li-e ša ki-ri-ib ekallim(lim) 37.
 ša-a-ti a-li parakku ša ^dAššur beli-ia (Rev.) 1. i-na kir-
 bi-šu ib-šu u (ša-)at-ti-ša-am-ma 2. ^dAššur be-li a-na
 parakki ša-a-tu a-na a-ša-bi il-la-[ku] 3. i-ga-ru šu-u
 e-na-aḥ-ma an-ḥu-su u-ni-ki-ir 4. u-di-iš a-na aš-ri-šu
 u-te-ir u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un 5. a-na ar-kat ûmê^p rubû
 ar-ku-u e-nu-ma 6. i-ga-ru šu-u u-šal-ba-ru-ma e-na-ḥu
 an-ḥu-su 7. lu-di-iš etc. 13. . . . a-na bît a-sa-ki a-šar
 la-ma-ri etc. 31. ^dBêltu a-bi-ik-ti mât-i-šu li-iš-kun i-na

Ll. 8 f. Taidi, etc., cf. Shalmaneser (No. 14), Col. III, 1 f.

L. 34. Lim-li-it-ti, for lil-li-it-ti. Which Ashur-nirari is here referred to?

Ll. 37 f. An interesting passage, showing that Ashur entered his shrine yearly, that is, there was a yearly procession similar to that of the zagmuk-

stela. The memorial stela of my ancestors 6. I set up beside my own. 7. In the days to come, may some future prince, 8. when that wall shall have become old and weak, 9. restore its ruins, 10. return the memorial stela with my inscription, and my foundation cylinder to 11. their places, and Ashur will hear his prayers, etc. 36. (after, "may Adad destroy his land with his lightning") may Belit accomplish the overthrow of his land, 37. before his foes may he not be able to stand (?).

The month Karātu, eponymy of

No. 11

Lines 1 to 32 are the same as the beginning of Nos. 9 and 10, with the following exceptions: 8. as far as Eluhāt, conqueror of the cities of Taidi, Shuri, [Ka]hat, Amasaki, Hurra, Shuduhi, Nabula, Ushukani, and Irridi; the whole of the Kashiari mountain region as far as Eluhāt, the stronghold of Sudi, the stronghold of Haran, as far as Karkamish which is on the banks of the Euphrates, etc.

22. (after "the wide spreading Kuti") who conquered the land of Kutmuhi and all of its allies.

31. Conqueror of Musri. Note that the conquests mentioned in 8 f. were accomplished by Adad-nirari himself, while those of 22 f. and 31 f. belong to the reigns of Arik-den-ilu and Ashur-uballit respectively (cf. the preceding inscription).

33. When the palace of my city Ashur, which Ashur-nirari, 34. offspring of my ancestors, a king who reigned before my time, 35. had built aforetime: the wall at the head of the Gate(s) of the Scepter (?), 36. . . . which is opposite (?) the which is in 37. that palace of the city. The shrine of my lord Ashur (Rev.) 1. he built therein and yearly 2. the lord Ashur goes to dwell in that shrine. 3. That wall became weak and I cleared away its ruins, 4. renewed it and restored it to its place. My memorial stela I set up.

festival at Babylon. The Chronicles frequently have notices like, "the gods of Dur-Sharru-ukin (or other gods) entered their shrines."

Rev. 13. Bīt a-sa-ki; this gives the value of the ideogram for which King, *Annals*, p. 9, suggested ekliti. The words probably have the same meaning. Ashurnasirpal uses bīt ki-li (King, *Annals*, 166).

L. 31f. This passage, although rubbed in places, makes possible the restoration of 36f. of the preceding inscription.

pa-ni 32. na-ak-ri-šu ia iz-zi-iz ^dAdad i-na bi-ri-iḫ
(Upper Edge) 33. li-mut-ti mât-su li-ib-ri-iḫ a-na mâti
... 34. ḥu-ša-aḥ-ḥa li-di 35. (Left Edge) ^{arab}Kar-
rat-te ūmu 20^{kam} li-mu ^mŠa-^dAdad-ni-nu

No. 12 (KAA, 6)

1. ^mdAdad-nirari ša-ak-ni ^dEn-lil šangû ^dA-šur 2. mâr
Arik-dên-ilu ša-ak-ni ^dEn-lil šangû ^dA-šur 3. mâr ^dEn-
lil-nirari ša-ak-ni ^dEn-lil šangû ^dA-šur-ma 4. e-nu-ma
a-bu-sa-tu ša bâb ^dAnim u ^dAdad 5. bēlê^p -ia u . . .
ši-na ša i-na pa-na 6. ib-ša e-na-ḥa . . . a-bu-sa-te
7. iṣ-tu uš-še-ši-[na] a-di gab-dib-bi-ši-na e-bu-uš 8.
¹ṣudalâti^p a-šu-ḥi [paḫlu-]te ir-ri-ti 9. ṣi-ra-ti eššâti^p
... e-bu-uš 10. i-na mi-si-ir [siparri] u-ṣi-bi-it 11. i-na
abulli ^dAnim u ^dAdad bēlê^p -ia 12. a-na da-ra-ti u-
ki(?) -in 13. a-na ar-ka-at ūmê(me)^p rubû ar-ku-u
14. e-nu-ma bît a-bu-sa-tu u ¹ṣudalâti^p -ši-na 15. e-na-
ḥa-ma u-da- 16. ki-ma ia-a-ti-ma li-bu-uš 17. šu-mi
šaṭ-ra a-na aš-ri-šu lu-te-[ir] 18. ^dA-šur ^dA-nu u ^dAdad
ik-ri-be-šu [išemû] 19. mu-ni-ki-ir ši-it-ri-ia u šu-me-
ia 20. ^dA-šur ^dA-nu ^dAdad ilâni^p rabûti^p 21. a-lik
ri-ṣi-ia-ma(?) lik-da-me-? 22. šarru-su li-is-ki-pu šum-
šu . . 23. i-na mâti lu-ḥal-li-ḫu na-aš-pu-uḥ mâti-šu
24. ḥa-lak ni-ši-šu u ku-du-ri-šu 25. i-na pî(i)-šu-nu
kabta 26. li-ša-am-ma 27. ^dAdad i-na bi-ri-iḫ li-mu-ti
28. mât-su li-ib-ri-iḫ 29. a-na mâti-šu ḥu-ša-ḥa li-di

L. 4. Abusati, see Delitzsch, *HWB*; from the expression bît-abusatu of line 14, and lines 6f., it would seem that a meaning like pylon, or pilaster, must be assigned to the word. It probably has nothing to do with **בז**, as is suggested in the *Ges.-Buhl Heb. Lex.*

No. 13 (KAA, 65)

Obv. (1 to 25 same as No. 11, 1 f.)

26. ki-si-ir-ta ša pa-ni nâri ša iṣ-tu si-ip-pi- 27. e-li-e
ša bâb ^dE-a-šarri a-di si-ip-pi-i 28. šap-li-e ša bâb

5 f. In the days to come, may some future prince, when that wall shall have become old, etc. 13. to a house of darkness, etc. 31 f. May Belit establish his overthrow of his land, may he not be able to stand before his enemies, may Adad destroy his land with his destructive lightning, may bring famine to his land.

Month of Karrate, the twentieth day, the eponymy of Sha-Adad-ninu

No. 12

1. Adad-nirari, prefect of Enlil, priest of Ashur, 2. son of Arik-den-ilu, prefect of Enlil, priest of Ashur, 3. son of Enlil-nirari, prefect of Enlil, priest of Ashur. 4. When the abusatu of the gate of 5. my lords Anu and Adad and their , which had been built aforetime, 6. fell to ruins, the abusate 7. from their foundations to their copings I rebuilt; 8. doors of mighty ashuhu-trees, 9. large new irriti, . . I made, 10. with a covering of copper I covered (them), 11. and in the gate of my lords Anu and Adad, I set them up 12. for all time to come. 13. In days to come, may some future prince, 14. when the bit-abusati and their doors 15. shall have fallen to ruins and . . . 16. may he renew them as I did, 17. and return my inscription to its place, 18. and Ashur and Adad will hear his prayers. 19. But whoever blots out my inscription and name, 20. may Ashur and Adad and the great gods, 21. my protectors, ——— him, 22. overthrow his kingdom, 23. destroy his name and . . from the land. The destruction of his land, 24. the ruin of his people and his boundary, 25-26. may they decree by their fateful command. 27. May Adad with his destructive lightning 28. destroy his land, 29. and may he bring famine to his land.

No. 13

Lines 1 to 25 are the same as No. 11, 1 f.

L. 26. The quay which faces the river and extends from the 27. upper threshold of the gate of Ea-sharri to the 28. lower threshold of the gate of Ninib (?), had become weak from the water 29. and the high-water came up to it and carried 30. off its (casing of) burnt brick. That quay I strengthened 31. with (bitumen) and burnt brick, four

ª MAŠ-NA-LAL ša i-na mē^{pl} e-na-[ḥu-ma] 29. mi-lu a-na
ša-a šu-bu-li-šu u a-gur-[ri] 30. it-ba-lu ki-si-ir-ta ša-
a-ti iš-tu ku . . . 31. u a-gur-ri ak-si-ir 4½ a-gur-ri u-

(Rev.) 1. [i]-na pi-lī u ib-ri ša ali u-ba- . . 2. ku-ta-li-
šu ak-si-ir u na-ri-ia aš-ku-[un . .] 3. a-na ar-kat ūmē^{pl}
ru-bu-u ar-ku-u 4. e-nu-ma ki-is-ir-tu ši-i u-šal-ba-
ru-ma 5. e-na-ḥu an-ḥu-su lu-di-iš šu-mi šaṭ-ra 6. na-
ri-ia a-na aš-ri-šu lu-te-ir etc. 13. a-na bit a-sa-ak-ki
a-šar etc.

L. 26. Adad-nirari IV (usually III) mentions this quay and its builder Adad-nirari (KAA, No. 24, Rev. 6). A number of bricks of Adad-nirari also refer to the quay. KAA, 7, reads: Ekal "Adad-nirari patesi(?) mār Arik-den-ilu patesi-ma ša ki-si-ir-ti ša pāni nāri; "palace of Adad-nirari, the patesi, son of Arik-den-ilu, the patesi; (brick) from the quay which faces the river."

SHALMANESER I

No. 14 (KAA, 13)

Obv. Col. I. 1. mªŠulmānu-ašaridu ša-ak-niªBêl šangû
Aš-šur 2. el-lu šakkanakku ilāni^{pl} rubû mi-girªIštar
3. mu-bi-ib šu-luḥ-ḥi u nindabû 4. mu-ša-tir ana
napḥar ilāni^{pl} zi-i-bi 5. tak-li-me mu-kin ma-ḥa-zi
el-lu-ti 6. ba-nu E-ḥar-sag-kur-kur-ra ki-iṣ-ši ilāni^{pl}
7. šadû(u)mâtâti BUR-GAL tab-ra-ti ri-u 8. pu-ḥur
da-ad-me ša-il šaḥ-ḫa(?) 9. tu-šu šu-tu-ra el Aš-šur
ṭa-a-ba 10. ur-ša-nu ḫar-du li-u tu-ḫu-ma-ti 11. ḫa-am

Col. I. 4-5. Zibi, corresponds to the bloody sacrifice (זִבִּי) of the O.T. If the first word of 5 is to be read taklime (the variant readings do not help to determine the reading), the translation "show-bread" may bring out the meaning of the term. That is, if the word is to be derived from kalāmu; see Delitzsch, *HWB*. Zimmern, *KAT*, 600, has another equivalent for the Hebrew לֶחֶם הַפְּנִים, but the later biblical books also use the term לֶחֶם הַמִּצְרֶכֶת, which would indicate that the Hebrew term is descriptive rather than a *terminus technicus*. Cf. Asurnasirpal inscription (King, *Annals*, 165), ni-da-ba-ša u tak-li-ša u-ki-in-ši.

Ll. 7-8. Instead of BUR-GAL dadme, another text has the reading pa-te-si ri-iš-tu-u šaknuªA-nim uªBêl, chief patesi (high-priest, "Defender of the Faith"), prefect of Anu and Bel. With BUR-GAL compare GAL-BUR=ušumgal, S^b 125. Ša-il šaḥ-ḫa: šailu

and one-half (layers) of burnt brick and (Rev.) 1. upon (?) a limestone (foundation?), and earth from the city I (brought) and 2. strengthened its kutalli. My memorial stela I set up. 3. In the days to come, when that quay shall have become old, etc.

KAA, 12, Ekal ^mAdad-nirari šar kiššati apil Arik-den-ilu šar ^{ma}Aššur ša ki-si-ir-ti ša kisādī(i) narāti (var. na-ri) ša ekal-la-ti, "palace of Adad-nirari, king of the universe, son of Arik-den-ilu, king of Assyria; (brick) from the quay facing the bank(s) of the river(s), belonging to the palaces."

Rev. 2. From this passage it would seem that kutallu means the solid core of a wall or terrace. See the inscription of Ashur-uballit (No. 8), 11 f., where the old well of Ashur-nadin-ahe seems to have been dug down through the core of the terrace (kutaḷ tamlē).

SHALMANESER I (ca. 1295 B.C.)

No. 14

Obv. Col. I. 1. Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 2. the illustrious viceroy of the gods, favorite prince of Ishtar, 3. who restores (purifies) the cult and the freewill offerings, 4. who increases the bloody sacrifices and the 5. show-bread (?) for all of the gods. Founder of splendid cities, 6. builder of Eharsagkurkurra, the abode of the gods, 7. the mountain of the lands. Awe-inspiring despot, shepherd of all peoples, 8. counsellor of (all) creatures (?), 9. who increases the evil (?) more than Ashur the good (!). 10. Strong warrior, mighty in battle, 11. who burns

(Del., *HWB*, 634), name of a priest class; perhaps here to be translated "counsellor"; cf. the usage of šaālu in I₂, where it is equivalent to malāku. The Hebrew שֶׁאֱלָו, "inquire," in a legal sense, may also be compared with this usage (Deut. 13:15). The word is clearly to be regarded as a parallel of rê'u. This seems to follow from its combination with the word šakka. Whatever may be the correct reading of this word, II R 36, 3 c, d, shows that it is related to bašamu, and the meaning of this is in all probability "creature"; the verb bašamu means "to make, to form." The fact that šail šakka is parallel to the preceding řu puḅur dadmê strengthens this conclusion. A free rendering of the two phrases would be, "shepherd and counsellor of all peoples, all creatures."

L. 9. Translation doubtful.

L. 10. Uršanu, var. ur-ša-an-nu. Instead of li-u f., var. has li-ḫu-um tuḫumāti (GĪŠ-LAL-MEŠ). This would indicate that the root is שֶׁחַל, not שֶׁלַח.

za-a-a-ri mu-ul-ta-aš-gi-mu 12. ka-bal gi-ri-šu ša ki-
 ma nab-li 13. it-ta-na-aš-ra-ru e-ri-iḫ 14. ta-ḫa-su u
 ki-ma ḡis-par mu-ti 15. la pa-di-e te-bu-u ^{1ṣu} kakkê^{pl}-
 šu 16. rubû ki-nu ša i-na tukulti ^dAš-šur 17. u ilâni^{pl}
 rabûti^{pl} bēlê^{pl}-šu it-ta-la-ku-ma 18. ma-ḫi-ra la-a
 i-šu-u ṣa-bit 19. mi-iṣ-rat na-ki-ri e-liš u šap-liš 20.
 bēlu ša napḫar ma-al-ki u rubê(e) 21. ^dAš-šur u ilâni^{pl}
 rabûti^{pl} ana šēpi-šu 22. u-še-ik-ni-šu e-nu-ma Aš-šur
 bēlu 23. a-na pa-la-ḫi-šu ki-niš u-ta-ni-ma 24. a-na
 šu-šur ṣalmât kaḫḫada(a) ^{1ṣu} ḫaṭṭu ^{1ṣu} kakku 25. u ši-
 pir-ra id-di-na a-ga-a ki-na 26. ša be-lu-ti iš-ru-ḫa
 i-na ūme(me)-šu-ma 27. i-na šur-ru šangûti(ti)-ia
^{mat}U-ru-ad-ri 28. ib-bal-ki-tu-ni-ma a-na ^dAš-šur 29.
 u ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl} bēlê^{pl}-ia ḫa-ti 30. aš-ši da-ku-ut um-
 manâti^{pl}-ia aš-ku-un 31. a-na ki-ṣir ḫur-ša-ni-šu-nu
 dan-nu-ti 32. lu e-li ^{mat}Ḫi-im-me (Lower Edge) 33. ^{mat}
 U-ad-ḫu-un ^{mat}Bar-gu-un 34. ^{mat}Sa-lu-a ^{mat}Ḫa-li-la
^{mat}Lu-ḫa 35. ^{mat}Ni-li-pa-aḫ-ri 36. u ^{mat}Zi-in-gu-un 8
 mâtâtî^{pl} 37. u ellâtî^{pl}-ši-na ak-šud 51 alâni^{pl}- 38. šu-nu
 ak-kur aš-ru-up šal-la-su-nu 39. makurra-šu-nu aš-
 lu-ul pu-ḫur 40. ^{mat}U-ru-ad-ri i-na 3-ti ūmê(me) Col.
 II. 1. a-na šēpi Aš-šur bēli-ia lu-še-ik-niš 2. ad-me-
 šu-nu u-ni-šik ^{amêl}pagri 3. a-na ar-du-ti u pa-la-
 ḫi-ia 4. u-ta-šu-nu-ti kab-ta bilta 5. ḫur-ša-ni a-na
 da-ra-ti eli-šu-nu 6. lu aš-ku-un ^{alu}A-ri-na ki-ṣa šur-
 šu-da 7. ki-ṣir ḫur-ša-ni ša i-na maḫ-ra 8. ib-bal-
 ki-tu i-še-ṭu Aš-šur 9. i-na tukulti Aš-šur u ilâni^{pl}
 rabûti^{pl} 10. bēlê^{pl}-ia alu ša-a-tu ak-šud ak-kur 11. u
 ku-di-me e-li-šu az-ru ib-ri-šu 12. e-si-pa-ma i-na

L. 14. Gišpar, var. GIŠ-PA, that is, ḫaṭṭu for ḫaṭṭu ḫuḫaru. Cf. חבלי כות.

L. 25. Šiparra, var. ši-pi-ra, one of the insignia of office. Variant of šibirru.

L. 27. U-rat-ti; cf. 40, where the form U-ru-ḫu-ad-ri occurs as a variant reading. Probably the earliest occurrence of the name of Armenia, written Urarṭu in the later texts.

L. 28. After the verb, var. adds it-ti-ia ik-ki-ru za-e-ru-ti e-pu-šu, became estranged from me and stirred up enmity.

up the enemy, thunders (like Adad) amongst his foes; 12. who bursts forth like a flame of fire; 13. who decides the battle (or is brave in battle?); 14-15. and like the snare of certain death is the onset of his arms. 16. The legitimate ruler, who looks to Ashur 17. and the great gods, his lords, for support, 18. who has no rival; who seizes 19. the territory of the enemy north and south. 20. The lord to whose feet 21. Ashur and the great gods 22. have brought all kings and rulers in submission. When the lord Ashur 23. chose me for his legitimate worshiper, 24. and, for the ruling of the black-headed people gave me lance, scepter and 25. staff, he presented me the diadem 26. of legitimate rulership. At that time, 27. at the beginning of my priesthood, the land of Uruadri 28. rebelled, and to Ashur 29. and the great gods, my lords, I raised 30. my hands in prayer, mustered my armies, 31. went up against their mighty mountain fastnesses. 32. The lands of Himme, 33. Uadkun, Bargun, 34. Salua, Halila, Luha, 35. Nilipahri, 36. Zin-gun: eight countries 37. with their forces I conquered. Fifty-one of their cities 38. I captured, burned, their booty, 39. their property, I seized. The whole 40. land of Uruadri, in three days' time, Col. II. 1. at the feet of Ashur my lord, I brought in submission. 2. Their young men I brought down dead, 3. chose them (the survivors) to serve and fear me. 4. Heavy tribute 5. for a mountainous region (to pay?), for all time, I imposed 6. upon them. The city of Arina, a strongly fortified 7. mountain fastness, which had formerly revolted, 8. despising the god Ashur; 9. by the help of Ashur and the great gods, 10. my lords, I took that city, destroyed it, 11. and scattered kudime over its (site). Its dust 12. I gathered

L. 30. *Dakûtu*, cf. the usual *dikûtu*.

Ll. 30f. Countries lying to the northwest of Assyria, cf. *Tiglath-pileser*.

L. 40. One text has variant reading, *U-ru-ḥu-ad-ri*.

Col. II. 2. *Admê*, young men, probably the young warriors. *Unîšik amêl pagri* (*šalamtu*), var. *ina pagri*: brought low as, or among the dead. Verb *našâku* which forms a group with *nadû* and *maḫâtum*; Del., *HWB*, 486.

Ll. 4-5. *Kabta bilta ḥuršâni*, tribute which is heavy for a mountainous region to pay(?).

L. Arina, cf. p. 162, above. *Ki-ša*, var. *ki-iš-ša*.

L. 11. *Kudime*, meaning? The custom of scattering stones, salt, and

abulli ali-ia Aš-šur 13. a-na aḥ-rat ûmê¹ lu aš-bu-uk
 14. i-na ûmi(mi)-šu-ma ^{mat}Mu-uṣ-ri ka-li-ša 15. a-na
 šêpi Aš-šur bêli-ia lu-še-ik-niš 16. e-nu-ma i-na ki-bit
 ilâni¹ rabûti¹ 17. i-na e-mu-ḫi ṣi-ra-ti ša Aš-šur 18.
 bêli-ia ana ^{mat}Ḥa-ni-gal-bat alliku-ma 19. ṭu-di šap-
 ša-ki ni-ri-be mar-ṣu-ti 20. lu ab-ti ^{mat}Šat-tu-a-ra šar
^{mat}Ḥa-ni 21. umman ^dḤa-ti-i u Ḥh-la-mi-i 22. it-ti-šu
 lu-u-še-eš-ḫir 23. ni-ri-be u maš-ḫa-ia lu iṣ-bat 24.
 a-na ṣu-ma-me-ti u ma-na-aḥ-ti 25. ummani-ia i-na
 gi-biš ummanâti¹-šu-nu 26. dap-niš lu it-bu-ni-ma
 27. am-da-ḥaṣ-ma a-bi-ik-ta-šu-nu 28. aš-ku-un tab-du
 ummanâti¹(ti)-šu-nu 29. ra-ap-ša-ti ana la me-ni
 a-du-uk 30. a-na ša-a-šu i-na zi-ki-it 31. ma-al-ma-li
 a-di ša-la-mu 32. ^dšam-ši lu ad-da-ra-ṣu (Lower Edge)
 33. gu-un-ni-šu-nu u-pil-liḫ 34. 4 šar bal-ṭu-ti-šu-nu
 u-ni-bil 35. aš-lu-ul 9 ma-ḥa-zi-šu dan-nu-ti 36. alu
 be-lu-ti-šu lu ak-šu-ud 37. u 3 šu-ši alâni¹-šu a-na
 tilli u ḫar-me 38. aš-bu-uk umman ^dḤa-at-ti-i 39. u
 Aḥ-la-me-i ra-i-ṣu-šu 40. ki-ma zi-ir-ḫi lu-u-ti-bi-iḫ
 (Rev.) Col. III. 1. i-na ûme(me)-šu-ma iš-tu ^{al}uTa-i-di
 2. a-di ^{al}uIr-ri-di si-ḫir-ti ^{mat}Ka-ši-a-ri 3. a-di ^{al}uE-lu-
 ḫat ḫal-ṣi (^{al}u)Su-u-di 4. ḫal-ṣi (^{al}u)Ḥar-ra-ni a-di
 (^{al}u)Ḳar-ga-miš 5. ša a-aḥ Bu-ra-te alâni¹-šu-nu aṣ-
 bat 6. mâtâtî¹-šu-nu a-bil u ši-ta-at 7. alâni¹-šu-nu
 i-na iššati lu-u-ḫi-li 8. ar-ki-šu ^{mat}Ḳu-ti-i ša ki-ma
 kakkab šamê(e) 9. me-nu-ta la-a i-du-u ša-gal-ta 10.
 la-an ib-bal-ki-tu-ni-ma 11. it-ti-ia ik-ki-ru za-e-ru-ti
 12. e-bu-šu a-na Aš-šur u ilâni¹ rabûti¹ 13. bēlê¹-ia
 ḫa-ti aš-ši ma-a an-na 14. ki-na e-še-ri-iš e-bu-lu-ni-ni

weeds(?) over the site of a city that had been razed is well known. Cf. ṣipa and ṭabtu in Del., *HWB*.

L. 16. Šattuara, var. Ša-tu-a-ra; probably an Aryan name, cf. my article on "Some Hittite and Mitannian Personal Names," *AJSL*, XXVI, No. 2 (January, 1910), 101.

L. 17. Emûḫi, var. id(u).

L. 20. Ḥani, vars. have full form Ḥanigalbat.

L. 23. Var. maš-ḫa-a-ia.

L. 25. After mu var. adds [ra]-ap-ša-ti.

and in the gate of my city Ashur 13. I poured it out (as a witness) for the days to come. 14. At that time the whole land of Musri I brought in submission 15. to the feet of Ashur my lord. 16. When, at the behest of the great gods, 17. with the mighty hosts of my lord Ashur 18. I advanced against the land of Hanigalbat, 19. over difficult roads and narrow passes 20. I forced my way, Shattuara, king of Hani, 21. the army of Hittites and Aramaeans 22. with him, I surrounded. 23. The passes and my water supply he cut off (seized). 24. Because of (?) thirst and for a camping ground 25-26. my army bravely advanced into the masses of their troops, 27. and I fought a battle and accomplished their defeat. 28-29. Countless numbers of his defeated and wide spreading hosts I killed. 30. Against (the king) himself, at the point 31. of the spear, unto the setting 32. of the sun I waged battle. (Lower Edge.) 33. I devastated their lands, 34. 14,400 of them I overthrew and 35. took as living captives. Nine of his strongholds, 36. his capital city, I captured. 37. One hundred and eighty of his cities to tells and ruins 38. I overturned. The army of Hittites 39. and Aramaeans, his allies, 40. like sheep I slaughtered. (Rev.) Col. III. 1. At that time, from the city of Taidi 2. to the city of Irridi, the whole Kashiari mountain region, 3. to the city of Eluhath, the stronghold of Sudi, 4. the stronghold of Haran as far as Karkamish, 5. on the bank of the Euphrates, I captured their cities. 6. Their lands I brought under my sway, and the rest 7. of their cities I burned with fire. 8. Thereupon, the land of the Kutu, whose numbers 9. are countless as the stars of heaven, 10. even before they revolted against me and 11. fought with me, they stirred up enmity; 12. to Ashur and the great gods, my lords, 13. I raised my hands in prayer, saying: 14. "they faithfully promised me their good faith." 15. I left the camp of my army behind, 16. took the choicest of my chariots, 17. rushed into the midst of battle with them. 18. From the border of the land of Uruadri 19. to the

L. 26. Var. da-ap-ni-iš.

L. 40. Zirki; the verb uṭibiḥ shows that zirku is probably a synonym of immerum, sheep, as V R 28. 6 e, f, indicates.

Col. III. Taidi, etc., cf. No. 11 (Adad-nirari), 8f.

L. 10. La-an, var. lam.

15. ka-ra-aš ummanâtî¹-ia e-zi-ib 16. ni-siḫ narka-
bâtî¹-ia šu-lu-ul-ta 17. lu al-ḳi a-na ki-rib ta-ha-zi-
šu-nu 18. ad-di iš-tu mi-ṣir ^{ma}U-ru-ad-ri 19. a-di
^{ma}Kut-mu-ḫi ši-id-di na-as-ku-ti 20. pi-ir-ka be-ri-e
ni-su-ti 21. na-bu-ul-ti ummanâtî¹-šu-nu 22. ra-ap-
ša-ti ki-ma mē¹ lu at-bu-uk 23. šal-mat ḳu-ra-di-šu-nu
ṣi-ra 24. ra-ap-ša lu-u-me-el-li 25. šal-la-su bu-ul-šu
e-ma-am-šu 26. u makkura-šu a-na ali-ia Aš-šur lu-
ub-la 27. ri-u ki-nu ša ^dA-nu u ^dBêl 28. šûmi-šu a-na
da-ra-ti ib-bu-u ana-ku 29. zêru da-ru-u mu-du ilâni¹
30. apil Adad-nirari ša-ak-ni ^dBêl šangû Aš-šur 31. apil
Arik-dên-ilu ša-ak-ni ^dBêl šangû Aš-šur-ma 32. e-nu-
ma E-ḫar-sag-kur-kur-ra 33. bît Aš-šur bêli-ia ša ^m(A)-
uš-pi-a 34. šangû Aš-šur a-bi i-na pa-na 35. e-bu-šu-ma
e-na-aḫ-ma 36. ^mE-ri-šu a-bi šangû Aš-šur epuš(uš) 37.
2 šu-ši 39 šanâtî¹ iš-tu palê 38. ^mE-ri-še il-li-ka-ma
39. bîtu šu-u e-na-aḫ-ma 40. ^{ma}Šam-ši-^dAdad šangû
Aš-šur-ma 41. e-bu-uš 9 šu-ši 40 šanâtî¹ (Rev.) Col. IV.
1. bîtu šu-u ša ^{ma}Šam-ši-^dAdad 2. šangû Aš-šur e-bu-
šu-ma še-bu-ta 3. u li-be-ru-ta il-li-ku 4. iššatu ana
kir-bi-šu im-ḳut bît e-šir- 5. ta-šu ḳál ki-sa-a-gi par-
akkâni¹ ni-me-di 6. šu-pa-ti mi-im-ma makkuru bît
Aš-šur 7. bêli-ia i-na iššati lu-u iḫ-mi 8. i-na ûme(me)-
šu-ma bîtu ša-a-tu a-na 9. si-ḫi-ir-ti-šu u-ni-ki-ir 10.
ḳa-ḳar-šu u-še-en-šik dan-na-su 11. ak-šud iš-di-šu i-na
abnu dan-ni 12. ki-ma ki-ṣir šadî(i) u-šar-ši-id 13.
bîtu el-la ki-iṣ-ša ša-ḳa-a parakku ṣi-ra 14. ad-ma-na
ra-šub-ba ša el maḫ-ri-i 15. ḳud-me-šu šu-tu-ru na-ak-
liš ib-šu 16. a-na ta-na-da-ti šu-ṣu-u 17. a-na si-mat
ilûti-šu rabîti šar-ku 18. a-na be-lu-ti-šu rabiš(iš) šu-
lu-ku 19. a-na-aḫ-ma ana Aš-šur bêli-ia e-bu-uš 20.
a-na uš-še-šu abnu kaspu ḫurâṣu parzillu 21. eru anaku

L. 19. Šiddi naskuti, cf. No. 16, Obv. 11.

Col. IV. 4-5. The meaning of kal ki-sa-a-gi is not clear. Some part of the temple is probably meant.

L. 13. After ella var. adds ia-a-riš(?)

Ll. 20 f. This passage as well as that in the inscription of Shamshi-Adad

land of Kutmuhi, remote regions, 20. distant and inaccessible plains, 21–22. the bodies of their wide spreading hosts I poured out like water. 23. With the corpses of their warriors 24. I filled the wide plain. 25. His booty, his cattle, his family, 26. and his property I carried away to my city Ashur. 27. Shepherd, duly appointed, whose name Anu and Bel 28. named for the days to come, am I; 29. of an ancient line (everlasting seed), who knows the gods; 30. son of Adad-nirari, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur; 31. son of Arik-den-ilu, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur. 32. When Eharsagkurkurra, 33. the temple of my lord Ashur, which Ushpia, 34. priest of Ashur, my ancestor, 35. had built aforetime, had fallen into ruins, 36. then my ancestor Erishu, priest of Ashur, restored it. 37. One hundred and fifty-nine (159) years passed after the reign 38. of Erishu and 39. that temple (again) fell into ruins. 40. Then Shamshi-Adad, priest of Ashur, 41. restored it. Five hundred and eighty (580) years elapsed, (Rev.) Col. IV. 1. and that temple which Shamshi-Adad 2. priest of Ashur had restored, 3. became old and weak, 4. fire broke out in it, its sanctuary, 5. every (?) kisâgi, the shrines, 6. glorious abodes, all the property of the temple of Ashur 7. my lord were burned with fire. 8. At that time I tore down that temple 9. in its totality. 10. I cleared away the earth from it, went down to its foundation, 11. built its foundation-walls of mighty stones 12. like the foundation of the mountains. 13. An illustrious temple, a lofty dwelling-place, a noble shrine, 14. a magnificent abode, whose front was higher 15. than (that of the) earlier (shrine), cunningly constructed, 16. manifesting glory, 17. befitting the dignity of his exalted divinity, 18. worthy of his sovereignty, 19. I restored with great care (literally: I went to much trouble and restored). 20. Over against its foundations, (tablets of) stone, silver, gold, iron, 21. bronze, lead, (together with) herbs, in herbs I placed.

III (No. 5, Obv. Col. I, 20—Col. II, 2), are to be understood in the light of the later building inscriptions, which are in turn rendered more intelligible by these. The word *šîlaru* is clearly the same as the well known *šallaru*, that part of the mud-brick wall which rests immediately upon the stone foundation (*uššu*). The verb *ašel*, *ašil* (from *אָשַׁל*?) occurs only in this and the Shamshi-Adad passage, but must probably be assigned a meaning similar to that of *בָּלַל* and *בִּדְדַץ*. At the same time it seems to follow from its parallel use with *nadû* (lu addi) that a meaning “to put, place” would

rikḫê^{pl} i-na rikḫê^{pl} 22. lu ad-di i-na šamni šaman ṭābu
 šikar e-ri-ni 23. dišpu (ṭābu) u ḫimētu še-la-ar-šu 24.
 lu a-še-el iš-tu uš-še-šu 25. a-di gab-dib-bi-šu e-bu-uš
 26. na-ri-ia aš-ku-un ta-ši-la-su 27. e-bu-uš e-nu-ma
 Aš-šur bēlu ana bīti 28. ša-a-tu i-ba-u-ma parakki-šu
 ṣi-ra 29. ḫa-diš i-ra-mu-u ib-še-ti ni-mur-ti 30. bītu
 ša-a-tu li-mur-ma ṣab-da-a (Upper Edge) 31. un-ni-ni-ia
 lil-ḫi taš-li-ti 32. liš-me ši-mat šu-lum šangûti-ia zêr
 šangûti(ti)-ia 33. nu-uk palê^{pl}-ia i-na pī-šu kabti 34.
 a-na ûm(um) za-a-a-ti rabiš(iš) li-taš-kar 35. na-ri-e
 ša šarrâni^{pl} maḫ-ru-ti šamna 36. ab-šu-uš ni-ḫa-a aḫ-ḫi
 ana aš-ri-šu-nu 37. u-tir ana ar-kat ûmê^{pl} rubû arku-u
 38. e-nu-ma bītu šu-u u-šal-ba-ru-ma (Left Edge) 1. e-na-
 ḫu ib-še-it ḫur-di-ia lu-ul-ta-me ta-na-ti li-u-ti-ia li-
 taš- 2. ka-ar ki-ma ana-ku-ma na-ri-e ša rubê^{pl} maḫ-
 ru-ti ana aš-ri-šu-nu u-tir-ru 3. na-ri-ia šamna li-ip-
 šu-uš ni-ḫa-a liḫ-ḫi ana aš-ri-šu-nu lu-tir 4. ^aAš-šur u
^aBêlit bīti ik-ri-be i-še-mu-u ša na-ri-ia u-na-ka-ru
 5. šu-me šaṭ-ra u-šam-sa-ku Aš-šur ilu ṣi-ru a-ši-ib
 E-ḫar-sag-kur-kur-ra 6. Igigi ša šamê ^aA-nu-na-ku ša
 irṣitim i-na napḫar-šu-nu iz-zi-iš li-ki-el-mu-šu-ma
 7. ir-ri-ta ma-ru-ul-ta ag-giš li-ru-ru-uš šuma-šu zêra-
 šu i-na mâti lu-ḫal-li-ḫu 8. šarru bēl li-mu-ti-šu kussa-
 šu li-ṭi-ir ana ni-it-li êni-šu mât-su liš-pur

Right Edge. ^{arab} Ša-sa-ra-ti li-mu ^mMu-šal-lim Aš-
 šur

fit better than "überschütten, übergiessen" (Delitzsch). The Shalmaneser passage distinguishes between the two parts of the ceremony of laying a foundation. (1) Upon (over against) the stone sub-structure (uššêšu) of the temple were laid (lu addi) in herbs, stone, silver, gold, iron, bronze, lead, and herbs. (2) In oil, choice oil, or erini-wine, honey, and butter were laid (ašel) its mud-walls (šelaru). The Shamshi-Adad passage (igarâte bīti ina kaspu ḫurâsu ^{aban}uknû ^{aban}sându šaman erini šaman rêšti dišpu u ḫimētu šilaram ašil, the walls of the temple,—in silver, gold, lapislazuli, sandu-stone, erini-oil, choice oil, honey and butter I laid the mud-wall) is to be regarded as an abbreviated account of the ceremony.

22. In oil, choice oil, erini, wine, 23. honey (?) and butter 24. I laid its walls. From its foundation 25. to its roof I rebuilt it. 26. I set up my memorial tablet, 27. I established its feasts. When the lord Ashur enters that temple, 28. and makes his joyful abode in its noble shrine, 29. may he look upon the splendid work(s) 30. (which I performed upon) that temple, 31. may he hear my prayers, 32. listen to my supplications, the decree for the peace of my priesthood, for my posterity in the priesthood, 33. for length of reign, by his exalted command, 34. for the days to come, may he mightily decree. 35. The memorial tablets of former kings I anointed with oil, 36. poured libations upon them, and to their places 37. returned them. In the days to come, may some future prince, 38. when this temple shall have become old and (Left Edge) 1. shall have fallen to ruins, may he recall the pious deeds of my hands (strength), the glory of my prowess may he proclaim. 2. As I returned the memorial tablets of former princes to their places, 3. so may he anoint my stela with oil, pour libations upon it and return it to its place. 4. Ashur and the Lady of the temple will hear his prayers. Whoever disturbs my stela 5. and blots out the writing of my name, may Ashur the mighty god who dwells in Eharsagkurkurra, 6. the Igigi of heaven and the Anunaki of earth, all of them, look with disfavor upon him and 7. with a terrible curse may they curse him in their anger. His name and seed may they destroy from the land. 8. May some hostile king seize his throne and give his land to whom he pleases (to the glance of his eye, i.e., to the one on whom his eye happens to look).

Right Edge. Month of Sha-sarati, limu of Mushallim-Ashur.

From the Gold-Ins., 32f, Silver-Ins., 40f, and others of Sargon's inscriptions we see that the silver, gold, etc., were in the form of tablets on which the king wrote his name (ina duppi ḫurāši kaspi eri, etc., nibit šūmia ašturma ina uššêšu ukīn), that is, they were the well-known *musarê* (see Lyon, *Keilschrifttext Sargons*).

L. 23. First sign TA-ḪI, var. TA-ḪI-GA,

Left Edge 2. After maḫ-ri-ti, var. adds šamna ab-šu-[šu] ni-ka-a aḫ-ku, I anointed with oil and poured out libations upon them.

L. 7. Marulta, var. ma-ru-uš-ta.

No. 15 (KAA, 14)

Obv. 1. [Šu]lmānu-ašaridu šaknu ʾBêl 2. šangû Aššur
 apil ʾAdad-nirari 3. šaknu ʾBêl šangû Aššur 4. apil
 Arik-den-ilu šaknu ʾBêl 5. šangû Aššur-ma e-nu-ma 6.
 E-ḫar-sag-kur-kur-ra bīt Aššur 7. bêli-ia ša iš-tu ul-
 la-a 8. šarrāni^{pl} ab-bu-ia 9. e-bu-šu-ma še-bu-ta 10.
 u la-be-ru-ta il-li-ku 11. bīt u šu-u i-na ḫi-mi-it 12. gi-ra
 lu-uš-ri-pi-it 13. i-na ūme(me)-šu-ma bīt Aššur bêli-ia
 14. a-na si-ḫir-ti-šu u-ni-kir 15. ḫa-ḫar-šu u-šam-šik
 16. dan-na-su ak-šud 17. uš-še-šu i-na abni dan-ni 18.
 ki-ma ki-ḡir šadī(i) 19. lu-u-šar-ši-id bīt Aššur 20.
 bêli-ia el maḫ-ri-i 21. ut-te-ir lu-u-šar-be 22. na-ma-ri
 ša bâb ʾLamassê (AN-KAL-KAL) 23. u na-ma-ri-ma ša iš-tu
 24. muš-la-li a-na (ki)kisallu 25. ʾNUN-NAM-NIR i-na e-ra-bi
 (Rev.) 1. 2 na-ma-ri an-nu-ti 2. ša i-na maḫ-ri-i la ib-šu
 3. ki-ma a-ḫaz-ti-ma lu e-bu-uš 4. (ki)kisallu ʾNUN-NAM-NIR
 5. el maḫ-ri-i ma-diš 6. lu-u-šar-be bīt Aššur 7. bêli-
 ia a-na si-ḫir-ti-šu 8. iš-tu uš-še-šu a-di 9. gab-dib-
 bi-šu e-bu-uš 10. ilāni^{pl} a-ši-bu-ut 11. ekurri bêli-ia
 12. i-na kir-be-šu u-kin 13. u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un 14. rubû
 arkû šu-me šaṭ-ra 15. a-na aš-ri-šu lu-te-ir 16. ʾAššur
 ik-ri-be-šu 17. i-še-me mu-ni-kir 18. ši-it-ri-ia u šu-
 me-ia 19. ʾAššur bêlu šarrûsu(su) 20. lis-kip šuma-šu
 zêra-šu 21. i-na mâti lu-ḫal-lik.

^{arab}Ša-ki-na-te li-mu nâdin-šumê^{pl}.

Obv. 11-12. Ina ḫimīt gira lu ušripit; ḫimīt, from ḫamû, conflagration. Cf. Esarhaddon text (KAA, 51, Col. II, 26), ina ḫi-mi-it ʾGIŠ-BAR uš-ri[-pit]

L. 22. Namari; the context requires some such meaning as pylon. The word occurs a number of times in the later inscriptions as namiru, or nameru. Ashur-resh-ishi (King, *Annals*, 17f.) mentions the namiru in connection with his restoration of some temple which Shalmaneser had repaired, but the context is too fragmentary to allow a translation (l. 10). In another inscription (King, *op. cit.*, 23f.), unfortunately also in poor condition, he mentions the "namiru of the Gates of the Lion's Head . . .

No. 15

Obv. 1. Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, 2. priest of Ashur, son of Adad-nirari, 3. prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 4. son of Arikden-ilu, prefect of Bel, 5. priest of Ashur. When 6. Eharsagkurkurra, the temple of Ashur, 7. my lord, which, in the days of old, 8. my royal ancestors 9. had built, became old 10. and decayed, 11-12. and that temple had been destroyed in a conflagration by fire; 13. at that time, the temple of my lord Ashur 14. in its totality, I tore down, 15. cleared away the ground from it, 16. went down to its foundation, 17. its foundation with large stones, 18. like the foundation of the mountains, 19. I firmly built. The temple of my lord Ashur 20-21. I made larger than it had been before. 22. The namari of the Gate of the Lamasse, 23. and the namari which extends from 24. the mushlala to the court 25. of En-lil, in — (Rev.) 1. Those two namari 2. (the like of?) which had not existed before, 3. according to plan I built. 4. The court of En-lil, 5-6. I made much larger than it had been before. The temple of 7. my lord Ashur, totally, from 8. its foundation to 9. its roof I rebuilt. 10. The gods who dwell in the 11. temple of my lord 12. I established therein. 13. My memorial stela I set up. 14. May some future prince return my inscription 15. to its place, 16. and Ashur will hear 17. his prayers. But the man who blots out 18. my inscription and name, 19. may Ashur the lord overthrow 20. his kingdom, his name and seed 21. destroy from the land.

Month of Sha-kinate, year of —nadin-shume

the great court of the temple of . . .” which he restored (enuma namiru ša abullâte(te) ša ẓakẓad nēši . . . (ki)kisallu šīru ša bīt . . . 1, 3f.). Shamshi-Adad speaks of bīt na-me-ru which some former prince had built (King, *op. cit.*, 150f.), but here too the context is practically gone. The latter reading recalls the abusâte and bīt abusâte of the inscription of Adad-nirari (No. 12, above), to which a similar meaning has been assigned.

L. 24. Kisallu; written KI-KISAL, instead of the usual KISAL = kisallu (S^b 231). Cf. KI-KU = šubtu.

L. 25. NUN-NAM-NIR, “lord of sovereignty” = Enlil; *CT*, XXIV, 5, 43.

No. 16 (KAA, 15)

Obv. 1. ^[d]Šulmānu-ašaridu ša-ak-ni ^d[Bêl šangû Aššur]
 2. [šarru] dan-nu šar kiš-šat nîšê^d 3. — tu-ul ab-ra-ti
 pa-ki-id ekurri 4. -id ilu ša-ki-i ^dNUN-NAM-NIR 5. [ka]-
 mu-u tar-gi-gi la pa-du-u 6. [u]-šum-gal ka-ab-li
 7. -ri-ir za-a-a-ri ka-šu-uš la-ma-gi-ri 8. mu-la-ak-
 ku aš-ṭu-ti 9. da-iš muš-tar-[ḫi] mu-ša-ak-ni-šu 10.
 na-ga-ab ḫur-ša-ni 11. ša a-na ši-id-di na-aš-ku-ti
 12. ra-ap-ša um-ma-an Ku-ti-i 13. u-na-i-lu ki-i šu-u-
 be 14. ka-ši-id Lu-ul-lu-bi-i u Šu-ba-ri-i 15. ša-li-il
 gi-ru-u za-ma-[ni] 16. e-li-iš u ša-ap-li-iš 17. mâr
^dAdad-nirari ša-ak-ni ^dBêl šangû Aššur 18. mâr Arik-
 den-ilu ša-ak-ni ^dBêl šangû Aššur-ma 19. e-nu-ma
 i-na E-ḫar-sag-kur-kur-ra 20. bît ^dAššur be-li-ia 21.
 [i]-na bâb el-lu-ti ša ^dlamassê (AN-KAL-KAL) 22. na-ma-
 ri ša-ḫu-ti lu e-bu-uš 23. [a-na] ri-ib siparri me-li-e
 rabûti^d 24. [lu]-u u-še-iz-zi-iz 25. ¹ḫitte^d ni-ib-ḫi
 šu-ri-ni 26. u ¹udalâti^d siparri lu-u u-kin 27. i-na
 umi(mi)-šu-ma bît ḫi-bur-ni la-bi-ra 28. [ša] šarrâni^d
 ab-ba-u-[ia] (Rev.) 1. [i-na] pa-na e-bu-[šu] 2. . . a-na
 šu-tu-ri tar-pa-ša a-na . . 3. [bît] ḫi-bur-ni ša-tu-nu
 ak- . . . 4. [nap]ḫar-šu-nu u-ni-ki-ir 5. 16 (?) i-na 1
 ammatu tar-pa-ša u-ra-ab-bi 6. [x] libittu dûri-šu be-
 ta-na-a 2 libittu dûri-šu ki-da-na-a 7. [u]-ki-be-ir

L. 5. Ḳamû; restoration conjectural. Cf. ḳa-am za-a-a-ri, No. 14, Col. I, 11.

L. 9. Muštarḫi; ḫi restored after notes and corrections, p. 76 of KAA.

L. 11. Na-aš-ku-ti, cf. šiddi naskuti, No. 14, Col. III, 19. From a root našâku or našâku, to be remote? [See ZA, XXV, 385.]

L. 13. Šûbe; last syllable restored. Cf. Cyl. Inscription of Tiglath-pileser (King, *Annals*, 40), Col. II, 20, Kummuhima kima šûbe lušnail, and Col. V, 4-5, šâbe . . . kima šûbe ušnail.

L. 14. Lulubî, instead of the usual Lulumî. This shows that the Lulumi of the later Assyrian texts and the Lulubi of the time of Sargon and Naram-Sin are the same. So the Ḳuti and Gutium are to be connected. See n. 35, p. 162, above.

No. 16

Obv. 1. Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 2. the mighty king, king of all peoples, 3. . . . peoples, who cares for the temple 4. . . . of the exalted god En-lil. 5. Who burns the foe, who is unsparing. 6. Lord of the battle; 7. . . . the enemy, harsh toward the unfaithful, 8. who crushes the foe, 9. tramples on the mighty, subjugates all 10. mountain districts. 11. Who throws himself against the remote districts 12. of the wide spreading Kuti 13. like a 14. Who conquers the Lulubi and Shubari, 15. who plunders the evil foe, 16. north and south. 17. Son of Adad-nirari, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 18. son of Arik-den-ilu, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur. 19. When in Eharsagkurkurra, 20. the temple of my lord Ashur, 21. in (?) the Gate of the splendid (?) Lamasse, 22. the large namari I built, 23. on a base (?) of copper, large turrets (?) 24. I placed; 25. cornice, moulding, columns (doorposts), 26. and doors of copper I set up. 27. At that time the old Hiberni-houses 28. which my royal ancestors (Rev.) 1. had built in the days gone by, 2. . . to increase the width to (?) . . . 3. those Hiberni I burned (?), 4. in their totality I tore them down, 5. sixteen (?) cubits I increased the width (?), 6. (with x layers of) burnt brick, its wall, on the interior (?), with two layers of burnt brick its wall on the

L. 15. Zamani; last syllable restored after *KAA*, p. 76.

L. 21. Ina(?) bâbu el-lu-ti ša 'lamassê (AN-KAL-KAL); cf No. 14, Obv. 22, namari ša bâb 'lamassê (AN-KAL-KAL). Does the adjective ellûti go with the lamassê?

L. 23. The first two signs are almost gone but the traces point to a-na. Mêlû is used together with rêšû in V R, 65, 22a, ina lâ adannišu ša bîti šuati rêšâšu ikdudû uttabbika/u milâšu, "before its time the pinnacles of that temple gave way and its milâ fell down." Delitzsch translates milâ, "walls." This meaning would hardly fit our context, which seems to call for a meaning similar to that of rêšû.

L. 27. What the bît-hiburni were cannot be determined from the context. Here the word is used in the singular (labira), while in the following lines the plural pronouns are used.

Rev. 7. Erinakki(?). If this is the correct reading, cf. urnakku, which, according to V R, 29, 41e, f, forms a class with bîtum and zigguratum (Delitzsch, *HWB*, 136).

e-[ri]-na-ak-ki e-bu-uš 8. ħi-bur-ni u ra-da-ti a-na
 aš-ri-šu-nu u-te-ir 9. el [ša] pa-na u-te-ir iš-tu uš-še-
 šu-nu 10. a-di gab-dib-bi-šu-nu e-bu-uš 11. u-[ša]-ak-
 lil u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un 12. na-ri-e ša ab-be-ia šamna
 ap-š[u-uš] 13. . . . ki-it-ti abnu kaspu u ħurâšu . . 14.
 [a-na] aš-ri-šu-nu u-te-ir-šu-nu-[ti-ma] 15. a-na ar-kat
 ûmê^{pl} rubû a-ar-k[u-u] 16. [e-nu]-ma ši-ib-ru šu-u u-
 šal-[bi-ru] 17. e-na-ĥu an-ĥu-su-nu lu-di-[iš] 18. [ki-
 ma] a-na-ku-ma na-ri-e [šarrâni^{pl} ab-be-ia] 19. . . .
 na-ki-ru a-na aš-ri-šu-nu u-te-ru 20. [na-ri]-ia a-na
 aš-ri-šu-nu lu-te-ir 21. ^[d]Aššur ik-ri-be-šu i-še-me 22.
 [mu-ni-kir] ši-iṭ-ri-ia u šu-me-ia 23. ^[d]Aššur be-li
 šarru-su lis-kip 24. [šûma-šu] zêra-šu i-na mâti lu-
 ĥal-lik 25. [šarru bêl] li-mu-[ti]-šu kussa-šu 26. [li-ṭi]-ir
 a-na ni-it-li ênê^{pl}-šu 27. [mât-su] liš-pur

Upper Edge. [^{arab}Ša] sa-ra-te li-mu

^{md}Aššur-

TUKULTI-NINIB I

No. 17 (KAA, 16)

1. ^mTukulti-^dNin-ib šar kiššati šar ^{mat}Aš-šur 2. šarru
 dan-nu šar kib-rat irbitti ni-šit Aš-šur 3. šangû Aš-
 šur šarru ša ib-še-tu-šu 4. eli ilâni^{pl} ša šamê iršitim
 i-ṭi-ba-ma 5. kib-be-tu pu-ka-ad irbitti 6. a-na GIŠ-
 KIN-šu iš-ru-ķu 7. i-na kib-ra-ti ul-te-li-ṭu-ma 8. kul-
 la-at la ma-gi-ri-šu ķa-su 9. ik-šu-du ṣa-bit mâtâti
 nakrê^{pl} mu-ri-piš 10. me-iṣ-ri šarru dan-nu na-mad ilâni^{pl}
 rabûti^{pl} 11. zêr be-lu-ti ša iš-tu ul-la-a 12. šangûsu-
 nu i-na ekurri u ša-pi-ru-su-nu 13. i-na kiš-šat nišê^{pl}
^dBêlu 14. u-šar-bu-ṽa-na-ku 15. [apil ^dŠulmânu-ašaridu
 šar kiššati šar ^{mat}Aš-šur 16. [apil ^dAdad]-nirari šar
 kiššati šar ^{mat}Aš-šur-ma 17. e-nu-ma iš-tu Tar-ṣi-na-a
 šadf(i) 18. la-aš-ķi be-ri-it ^{alu}Ša-si-la 19. ^{alu}Bar-pa-niš
 e-bi-ir-ti ^{nar}Za-bi 20. šu-pa-li-i iš-tu ^{mat}Su-ku-uš^{ki}
 21. u ^{mat}La-la-ar id-di 22. ^{mat}Ķu-ti-i rapalti(ti)
 ma-ni 23. ^{mat}El-ĥu-ni-a a-di 24.
^{mat}Me-iḫ-ri ^{mat}Ka- 25. ^{mat}Bu-uš-še
 -me 26. u si-ĥi-ir-ti -ia-ri 27. ^{mat}Il-zi ^{mat}

exterior (as protection) 7. I enclosed, and built. 8. Hiburni and radati I restored to their places, 9. made them larger than they were before, from their foundation 10. to their tops I rebuilt them 11. completely, and set up my memorial stela. 12. The stelae of my ancestors I anointed with oil, 13. tablets of stone, silver and gold. . . . 14. to their places I restored them. 15. In the days to come, may some future prince, 16. when that work shall have become old and 17. weak, restore its ruins, 18. and, as I restored the stelae of my ancestors 19-20. to their places, may he restore my stelae to their places. 21. Ashur will hear his prayers, etc.

L. 8. The meaning of *radati* cannot be inferred from the context.

TUKULTI-NINIB I (*ca.* 1260 B.C.)

No. 17

Obv. 1. Tukulti-Ninib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, 2. the mighty king, king of the four quarters of the world, favorite of Ashur, 3. priest of Ashur, the king whose pious works 4. are well pleasing to the gods of heaven and earth, and 5. the command to rule the four quarters of the earth 6. to his scepter (?) they gave, 7. and in all regions they made it powerful, 8. and all those who refused him submission they conquered through his hand. 10. (The king) who seizes the lands of all enemies, who extends his border(s); the mighty king, favorite of the great gods, 11. of royal lineage, whose (pl.) priesthood in the temple 12. and rule 13. over all peoples, Bel made great, am I. 15. The son of Shalman-eser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, 16. son of Adad-nirari, king of the universe, king of Assyria. 17. When, from Tarsina, an inaccessible mountain 18. between the city of Shasila 19. the city of Barpanish on the other side of the lower Zab, 20. from the lands of Sukus 21. and Lalar . . . 22. the land of the wide spreading Kuti the 23. Elhunina, up to 24. the lands of Mihri Ka- . . . 25. Bushe 26. and all of the (Kashiari region?) 27. The lands of Ilzi, 28. Alara zi 29. Bu zi 30. all of the wide spreading (Rev.) 1-2. (broken) 3. to . . . 4. all I established. 5. Prince . . shepherd 6. their scepter (?) . . their wall

..... 28. ^{mat}A-la-ra -zi 29. u
^{mat}Bu- -zi 30. kul-la-at rapalti(ti)
 31. a-di pa(?) ka . an 32.
 (Rev.) 1. bu 2.
^dAš-šur 3. a-na 4. kul-la-at aš-
 ku-un 5. rubû ma rêu? 6. GIŠ-KIN-su-nu
 dûru-šu-nu 7. a-na-ku i-na ûme?
 ka-at 8. ekallim-ia i-na si-ḫir-ti 9. si-kur-ra-ti ša
 ia 10. ḫa-ḫa-ri za-e... 11. ekalla
 šu-ba-at šarrûti(ti)-ia 12. ekalla ḫi-da-ti-ia 13. e-bu-
 uš u na-ri-ia 14. aš-ku-un a-na ar-kat ûmê(me)^{pl}
 15. ru-bu-u ar-ku-u 16. [an-hu]-sa lu-di-iš 17. [na-ri]-ia
 šamna lip-šu-uš 18. [ni]-ḫa-a li-ḫi 19. [a-na] aš-ri-
 šu-nu lu-te-ir 20. ^dAš-šur u ^dAdad 21. [i]k-ri-be-šu
 i-še-mu-u

arḫu X

li-mu

^mX

No. 18 (KAA, 17)

1. ^mTukulti-^dNin-ib šar kiššati šarru dan-nu 2. šar
^{mat}^dAš-šur ka-šid mul-tar-ḫi u(?) 3. la ma-gi-ri za-e-
 ru-ut ^dAš-šur 4. ni-ir ^{mat}U-ḫu-ma-ni-i 5. u Kur-ṭi-i
 la ka-ni-ši pu-ḫur 6. tar-gi-gi da-iš ^{mat}Kut-mu-ḫi
 7. um-ma-na-at Ḳu-ti-i pu-šuk 8. ḫur-ša-ni mu-si-pi-
 iḫ el-li- 9. ^{mat}Šu-ba-ri-i a-di pa-at gim-ri- 10. sa-pi-
 in ^{mat}Al-zi ^{mat}Pu-ru-kus-[si] 11. si- la kan-ši rubû
 ki-nu 12. ša i-na tukulti ^dAš-šur u ilâni^{pl} 13. rabûti^{pl}
 i-na kib-rat arbitti it-tal-la-ku-ma 14. mu-ni-ḫa [u] mu-
 a-ri-a la i-šu-u 15. ṣa-bit me-iṣ-rat nakrê^{pl} e-liš 16. u
 šap-liš šarru dan-nu li-u kabli 17. ša kul-la-at mâtâtî
 Na-i-ri i-pi-lu-ma 18. [xviii or xxxvi šârrâni]^{pl} ša-pi-ri-
 šu-nu ana šépê-[šu] 19. u-še-ik-ni-šu ^{mat}A-za-al-zi
^{mat}Še(?) -par-di-i 20. a-na mi-ṣir mâti-šu iš-ku-nu 21.
 [tab-du] ^{mat}Šu-me-ri u Ak-ka-di-i 22. il-[tak]-ka-nu-ma
^{mat} -ra 23. u- -u 24. šarru -du
 25. apil ^dŠulmânu-ašaridu šarru ^{mat}Aš-šur 26. apil
 Adad-nirari šarru ^{mat}^dAš-šur-ma (Rev.) 1. e-nu-ma
 bîttâti^{col} ekallim-ia 2. ša ali-ia ^dAš-šur 3. ša

7. I in . . 8. my palace in its totality, 9. the towers of . . . 10. the ground . . 11. the palace, my royal abode, 12. the palace in which I take delight, 13. I built and set up 14. my memorial stela. In the days to come 15. may some future prince 16. restore its ruins, 17. anoint my stela with oil, 18. pour out libations upon it, 19. return it to its place, 20. and Ashur and Adad will hear his 21. prayers. (Name of month and limu not given)

Obv. 6. GIŠ-KIN, probably to be read ḫaṭṭu, hardly gišgin(nu). Cf. Monolith of Ashur-nasirpal (King, *Annals*, 249), Col. V, 52.

L. 26. The Kashiari region is probably meant.

Rev. 12. Ḫidatia, reading based on var., see *KAA*, p. 76.

No. 18

Obv. 1. Tukulti-Ninib, king of the universe, the mighty king, 2. king of Assyria, conqueror of the mighty, 3. faithless enemies of Ashur, 4. destroyer of the lands of the Ukumani 5. and Kurti, who were unsubmissive and all of them evil people; 6. who tramples down the land of Kutmuhi, 7. the armies of the Kuti (in their mountain valleys; who overthrows the forces of the 9. land of Shubari in its totality, 10. who overturns the lands of Alzi and Purukussi, 11. all of whom were unsubmissive. The duly appointed prince, 12. who, under the protection of Ashur and the great gods 13. marches to the four corners of the earth. 14. There is none who can fight him to a standstill or take him captive. 15. Who seizes the enemies' country, north and south; 16. the great king, mighty in battle. 17. Who brought under his sway all of the lands of the Nairi, and 18. brought, . . kings, who ruled over them, in submission to his feet. 19. Who added the lands of Azalzi and Shepardi 20. to the territory of his country. 21-22. Who accomplished the overthrow of the lands of Sumer and Akkad. The land of . . 23. and . . 24. king . . 25. The son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, 26. son of Adad-nirari, king of Assyria.

(Rev.) 1. When the buildings of my palace 2. . . . in my city Ashur, 3. . . . the great towers 4. of the temple (?) of Ashur, my lord, which at a former time, 5. Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 6. my father, had built, fell to ruins, 7. I cleared away its ruins, 8. dug down to its foundation, restored it

si-kur-ra-te 4. rabâte ^dAš-šur bêli-ia ša ina pa-na
 5. ^md[Šulma]-nu-ašaridu šakni ^dBêl šangû Aš-šur 6. a-bi
 e-bu-šu e-na-aḥ-ma 7. an-[ḥu]-su u-ni-kir dan-na-su
 8. ak-šud iš-tu uš-še-šu 9. a-di gab-dib-bi-šu u-še-ik-lil
 10. u na-ri-ia aš-kun rubû arkû 11. an-ḥu-su lu-diš
 šûme šaṭ-ra ana aš-ri-šu 12. lu-te-ir ^dAš-šur ik-ri-be-
 šu 13. i-še-im-me mu-ni-kir šiṭ-ri-ia u šûmi-ia ^dAš-šur
 15. bêlu šarru-su lis-kip šum-šu 16. i-na mâti lu-ḥal-lik
 Li-mu ^mI-na-^dAš-šur-mu(?) -be

No. 19 (KAA, 18)

1. ^dTukulti-^dNi-nib šar kiššati šarru dan-nu šar
^m^aAššur 2. šar kib-rat arba-i ^dŠam-šu kiš-šat nišê¹
 apil ^dŠulmânu-ašaridu 3. šar ^m^aAššur apil ^dAdad-
 nirari šar kiššati (šar) ^m^a^dA-šur-ma e-nu-ma dûru ali-
 ia ^dA-šur 4. maḥ-ru-u ša i-na pa-na šarrâni¹ a-lik
 pa-ni-ia e-bu-šu e-na-aḥ-ma 5. la-be-ru-ta il-lik an-
 ḥu-su u-ni-kir dûru ša-a-tu ud-di-iš 6. a-na aš-ri-šu
 u-tir ḥi-ri-ša rabâ(a) ša i-na pa-na šarrâni¹ a-lik pa-
 ni-ia la-a e-bu-šu 7. ḥi-ri-ša rabâ(a) a-na li-me-it dûri
 lu aḥ-ri dan-na-su ki-ṣir šadî(i) i-na aḫḫullât(ŠA-
 GUL-MEŠ-at) eri lu-pi-ṣi-id 8. 20 mu-ša-ri a-na šu-
 pa-lu mê¹ na-ak-be lu ak-šud u i-na dûri ša-a-tu
 ti-me-ni-ia aš-ku-un rubû(u) arkû(u) 9. an-ḥu-su lu-
 di-iš ti-me-ni-ia a-na aš-ri-šu lu-tir ^dA-šur ik-ri-be-šu
 i-še-im-me mu-ni-kir 10. šiṭ-ri-ia u šumi-ia ^dA-šur bêlu
 šarru-su lis-kip šuma-šu u zêra ina mâti lu-ḥal-lik

No. 20 (KAA, 19)

1. . . ^dAššur bêli- . . 2. . . a-bu ilâni¹ . . 3. . . ^m^dTukulti-
^dNin-ib . . 4. . . šakni ^dBêl šangû ^dAššur . . 5. . . apil
^dŠulmânu-ašaridu šakni ^dBêl ša[ngû ^dAššur] . . 6. . .
 [Adad]-nirari šakni ^dBêl šangû ^dAššur . . 7. . . ilu . . a-
 an mâtâti . . 8. . . mâtâti a-aḥ tâmtim[e-li-ni-ti] 9. . .
 ma -a' . . 10. . . i-na šu-mur ta-ḥa-zi 11. . . a-ba-a'kul-
 la-at . . 12. . . Na-i-ri u mâtâti a-aḥ 13. . . tâmtim e-li-
 ni-ti . . 14. . . ḫa-ti ik-šu-[du] . . 15. -a . . šarrâni¹ -šu-
 nu a-bil . . 16. . . u . . 17. . . na-mar-šu

from its foundation 9. to its roof, 10. and set up my memorial stela therein. May a future prince 11. restore its ruins, return my inscription 12. to its place, and Ashur will hear his prayers. 13. But whoever blots out my inscription and name, may Ashur, the lord, 15. overthrow his reign, and 16. destroy his name from the land.

Limu of Ina-Ashur-

Obv. 14. Restored from duplicate, see *KAA*, 76. Muaria, II, 1, part. of ארר, to carry off.

L. 18. Numeral uncertain, *KAA*, 76.

L. 21. Restored from duplicate.

No. 19

1. Tukulti-Ninib, king of the universe, mighty king, king of Assyria, 2. king of the four quarters of the world, Sun of all peoples, son of Shalmaneser, 3. king of Assyria, son of Adad-nirari, king of the universe, king of Assyria. When the wall of my city Assur, 4. the old one, which the kings who preceded me had built, fell to ruins and became old, 5. I cleared away its ruins, and rebuilt that wall and 6. restored it to its place. A great moat, such as (lit. which) none of the kings who preceded me had dug, 7. I dug around the whole wall, its foundation constructed of stone from the mountains, I widened with bronze axes (picks). 8. Twenty inscriptions I found at the depth of the water level and in that wall I set up my foundation-cylinder. May some future prince 9-10. repair its ruins, return my cylinder to its place, and Ashur will hear his prayers. But whoever blots out the record of my name, may the lord Ashur overthrow his reign and destroy his name and seed from the land.

Ll. 7-8. Cf. Delitzsch, *MDOG*, 22 (1904), 76.

No. 20

1. . . Ashur, (my) lord, . . 2. . . father of the gods . . 3. . . Tukulti-Ninib . . 4. . . prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur . . 5. . . son of Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, (priest of Ashur) . . 6. . . (son of) Adad-nirari, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur . . 7. . . god (Ashur) . . lands . . 8. . . lands on the shore of the (upper) sea . . 9. . . 10. . . in the heat of battle . . 11. . . all of . . 12. . . the lands of the Nairi and the lands on the shore of 13. . . the upper sea . . 14. . . his hand conquered . . 15. . . their kings I brought under my sway . . 16. . . 17. . .

A NOTE ON MALACHI 2:15a

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In *MT* this verse runs as follows:

וְלֹא־אֶחָד עָשָׂה וְשָׂאֵר רוּחַ לֹי וְיָמָה הָאֶחָד מִבְּקֶשׁ יְרֵעַ אֱלֹהִים

This is by general consent the most obscure verse in the book of Malachi. The wide variety of interpretations testifies eloquently to its difficulties. The chief elements of uncertainty and obscurity in this text are the following: Is it a question or a declaration? Is *אֶחָד* the subject or the object of *עָשָׂה*? If it be the object, what does it mean and what then serves as subject of *עָשָׂה*? If it be the subject, what takes its place as object of *עָשָׂה*? To whom does the pronoun in *לֹי* refer? What does *שָׂאֵר רוּחַ* mean? If *רוּחַ* denote the Spirit of God conceived of as a person, as the rendering of R.V. seems to suggest, how can it be measured quantitatively by *שָׂאֵר*? Is *הָאֶחָד* the subject of the participial phrase *מִבְּקֶשׁ . . . יָמָה*, or is it the predicate of the interrogative clause *וְיָמָה הָאֶחָד*? Further, is *וְשָׂאֵר רוּחַ לֹי* a simple relative clause modifying the subject *אֶחָד*, or is it a concessive clause, viz., "although he had a remnant of the spirit," modifying *עָשָׂה אֶחָד*? The margin of R.V. offers as good a rendering as any that has been offered, viz., "And not one hath done so who had a residue of the spirit. Or what? Is there one that seeketh a godly seed?" This carries on the thought of the preceding context without interruption, but it lacks inner coherence. The latter half of it is too broken and abrupt. Furthermore, there is nothing to warrant "so"; "spirit" is wholly undefined; and "residue of the spirit" is wholly without analogy.

Professor B. Duhm¹ modifies slightly the rendering of R.V. margin by emending *עָשָׂה וְשָׂאֵר* to *עָשָׂהוּ שָׂאֵר* and translating, "Nicht Einer hat es gethan, der noch einen Rest von Gesinnung hatte! Was ist mit 'dem Einem'? Es ist der, der Gottessamen sucht." This is open to certain of the objections that hold against R.V.

¹ *Die Zwölf Propheten* (1910) and *Anmerkungen zu den Zwölf Propheten* (1911).

§ seems to have been made from a text which either did not contain עשה or else read it as אִישׁ (in the order אִישׁ אָחֵד, of course). It also lacked וְנָמָה.

Following the lead of § we may restore the text as follows:

וְלֹא אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר רִוּחַ לוֹ אָחֵד בִּבְקֶשׁ זֶרַע אֱלֹהִים

This adopts אִישׁ for עשה with § and drops אָחֵד as a dittograph of the following אִישׁ. It also agrees with § in dropping וְנָמָה, regarding it as a marginal query which has gotten into the text. The הֵ of רִוּחַ goes with וְנָמָה as a dittograph. אֲשֶׁר gives way to אִישׁ, the letters having been transposed here exactly as in Micah 3:3, where מִן presents כְּאִישׁ, while § reads כְּשִׂיִּי, which is much the better text.

The emended text may be rendered, "There is not a man who has moral sense—one who seeks a godly seed." Cf. Jer. 5:1. This furnishes excellent connection with the preceding context in which the writer has been denouncing the prevalent evil of divorce from Jewish wives, apparently followed by remarriage with non-Jewish women. It also furnishes a smooth inner connection, the latter part of the question being a definition of the former part. For the meaning "moral sense," compare the use of רִוּחַ in the following clause and also in such connections as Jer. 51:1; Hag. 1:14; I Kings 21:5, and Ps. 51:12.

ANOTHER BABYLONIAN LEDGER ACCOUNT OF REEDS AND WOOD¹

(THUREAU-DANGIN'S *TABLETTES CHALDÉENNES INÉDITES*,
No. 78, ALSO HIS *RECUEIL DE TABLETTES CHALDÉENNES*,
No. 305)

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- I
1. 600+120+27 120+3 ŠANABI
QA GAB GUR LUGAL
 2. 7,200+540+6 KINGUSILA GIME
U 1 KU
 3. 30 GUN 26 MA-NA GIS-MA-NU²
 4. 10,800+2,400+20 SA-GI
 5. SI-NI-IB
 6. ITU A-KI-TI³
 7. MU SI-MU-RU-UM^{ki} LU-LU BU-
UM^{ki} A-DU 10 LAL 1^{kam} BA-
GUL-A
 8. 1,800 ŠE GUR
 9. 40 GIG GUR
 10. ŠAG-GAL⁴ GUD UDU BAR⁵-ANŠE
 11. 1 120 QA GUR ŠE-BA MAR⁶ ŠE-
BA-NE
 12. ITU ŠE-KIN-KUD
 13. 1,800 ŠE GUR
 14. 40 GIG GUR
 15. ŠAG-GAL GUD UDU BAR-ANŠE

- I
1. 747 Gur, 123½ qa GAB grain,
royal quality;
 2. 7,746½ women for one day;
 3. 30 Talents 26 manas of MANU²-
wood;
 4. 13,220 binding-reeds;
 5. brought forward from old ac-
count.
 6. Month Akiti,³
 7. the year Simurru (and) Lulubu
were devastated for the 9th
time.
 8. 1,800 Gur of grain;
 9. 40 Gur of GIG-plant,
 10. food⁴ (for) oxen, sheep, and
cattle⁵
 11. 1 Gur 120, qa of wages-grain is
appropriated⁶ as their wages,
 12. (for) the month Shekinkud.
 13. 1,800 Gur of grain;
 14. 40 Gur of GIG-plant,
 15. food (for) oxen, sheep, and yoke-
asses.

¹ For the former account, see Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (July, 1911), pp. 322 ff. Discus-
sions of phrases occurring in the notes of that article are not repeated here.

² On this word see *AJSL*, XXVII, 322, n. 3.

³ Cf. M. 4743, and AL¹ 92, where A-KI-IT=arab Tašrit.

⁴ Cf. B. 8051 and *HWB*, 54 b.

⁵ Cf. Thureau-Dangin's *Écriture*. No. 31 and B. 2032.

⁶ Cf. B. 5820 for MAR=šakānu.

16. [1 1]20 QA GUR ŠE-BA MAR ŠE-BA-NE
17. [ITU D]IR-ŠE-KIN-KUD

16. [1] Gur, [1]20 qa of wages-grain is appropriated as their wages,
17. (for) the month Dir-shekinkud.

II

1. . . . GAL (?) . . .
2. . . . ŠE
3. GAR ZIG⁷-GUD UDU BAR-ANŠE (?)
4. 180+31 240+33 QA GUR ŠE-BI GAR
5. 3,600+600+120+31 SA-GI
6. 12 ŠANABI GUN GIŠ-MA:NU
7. NA⁸-AB-DA-LUM NU⁹-GU-A ŠA UD-NE¹⁰ GID¹¹-DA U I^{kam}
8. 600+420+29 60 QA GUR GAB
9. GAB-BI BAL¹²-KA
10. ITU ŠE-KIN-KUD ŠA ITU DIR-ŠE-KIN-KUD
11. ŠU-NIGIN I KARU + 120 + 35 30+3 QA ŠE GUR ^dDUN-GI-RA.
12. ŠU-NIGIN 60+20 GIG GUR
13. ŠE-BI I KARU+360+15 30+3 QA GUR
14. ŠU-NIGIN 1,200+540+56 123 ŠANABI QA GAB GUR

II

1.
2. . . grain
3. food (for) yoke⁷-oxen, sheep, and cattle
4. 211 Gur, 273 qa of its grain is food.
5. 4,351 binding-reeds;
6. 12½ talents of MA-NU wood
7. of Nabdalum,⁸ drink-officer⁹ (?); and he equaled¹⁰ the contract¹¹ of one day.
8. 1,049 Gur 60 qa grain GAB
9. His GAB grain is in excess.¹²
10. Month Shekinkud and the month Dir-shekinkud.
11. Total, 7,355 Gur, 33 qa of grain for the divine Dungi;
12. Total 80 Gur of gig-plant.
13. Its grain is 7,575 Gur, 33 qa.
14. Total 1,796 Gur, 123½ qa of GAB grain.

III

1. ŠU-NIGIN 7,200+540+6 KINGUS-ILA U I-KU
2. ŠU-NIGIN 43 GUN. 6 MA-NA GIŠ-MA-NU
3. ŠU-NIGIN 14,400+3,000+120+[71] SA-GI

III

1. Total, 7,746½ women for one day;
2. Total, 43 talents, 6 manas of MA-NU wood;
3. total 17,571 binding-reeds

⁷ Cf. M. 3239, where the sign is interpreted as *šindū*. For the reading *zīo*, cf. B. 4690.

⁸ That this is the reading, and that the whole is a proper name, is shown by RTC. 306, V. 2.

⁹ NU should be the sign of a profession, but the parallel passage RTC. 306, V. 2, has instead LA-BA. It may be that LA-BA is another official designation (cf. B. 988).

¹⁰ For UD-NE=e mu, cf. M. 5866.

¹¹ For GID-DA=g i t t u, "document," "contract," cf. M. 5547.

¹² Cf. Lau, *Old Babylonian Temple Records*, List, No. 3.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 4. SAG NIG ¹³ -GA-RA KAM ¹⁴ | 4. as the total amount ¹³ are constituted ¹⁴ |
| 5. ŠA-BI-TA. | 5. Of it |
| 6. 2,400+300+51 BAR 5 ŠANABI
QA ŠE ĠUR | 6. 2,751½ Gur, 5¼ qa of grain |
| 7. SIG-A. NIN-ŠID-AG | 7. completes the business transaction |
| 8. ITU A-KI-TI | 8. of the month Akiti; |
| 9. MU SI-MU-RU-UM ^{ki} LU-LU-BU-
UM ^{ki} A-DU 10 LAL 1 ^{kam} BA-ĠUL | 9. the year Simurru and Lulubu were devastated for the 9th time. |
| 10. 3 180+55 QA GIG GUR | 10. 3 Gur 235 qa of GIG-plant |
| 11. E-DUB-BA-KA BA-AN-TUR | 11. to the counting-house were brought in. |
| 12. GIR GAL- ^d BABBAR PA-ĠAR | 12. Gir-officer. Gal- ^d Babbar the ĠAR-officer. |
| 13. 252 20 A GAB GUR | 13. 252 Gur, 20 qa of GAB grain |
| 14. ^d DUN-GI-A A-MU | 14. to the divine Dungi was given |
| 15. | 15. |
| 16. | 16. |
| 17. | 17. |

IV

1. . . . GAB GUR.
2. [MU]-GUB
3. LAL-NI 1,200 + 17 60 + 20 + 6
ŠUŠŠANA QA ŠE-GUR
4. 1,200+300+44 120+43 ŠANABI
GAB GUR
5. 7,200+540+6 KINGUSILA GIME
U I+KU
6. 43 GUN 6 MA-NA GIŠ-MA-NU
7. 14,400+3,000+120+51 SA-GI
8. LAL-NI-A-AN
9. NIN-ŠID-AG
10. PAL UR-^dKAL PA-TE-SI GIR-SU^{ki}
11. ITU ŠE-KIN-KUD-TA
12. ITU DIR-ŠE-KIN-KUD-KU
13. ITU II^{kam}

¹³ Literally "possession."

¹⁴ For KAM=erēšu, cf. M. 6207 and B. 8340. Cf. MA. 107, erēšu 9.

IV

1. . . . Gur of GAB grain
2. brought.
3. There are on hand 1,217 Gur, 86½ qa of grain;
4. 1,544 Gur 163¾ qa of GAB grain;
5. 7,746½ women for one day;
6. 43 talents, 6 manas of MA-NU wood,
7. 1,7571 binding-reeds
8. are on hand.
9. Business transaction.
10. in the reign of Ur-^dKal. Patesi of Girsu;
11. from the month Shekinkud (Adar)
12. to Dir-shekinkud (second Adar),
13. two months;

- | | |
|--|---|
| 14. BAL[-BI ¹⁵ I ^{a-an}] | 14. their equivalent is one. |
| 15. MU ¹⁶ [SI-MU-RU-UM ¹⁷] LU[-LU-BU-UM ¹⁷] A-DU 10 L[AL I BA-BUL | 15. The year ¹⁶ Simurru and Lulubu were devastated for the ninth time. |

This text, like the one interpreted in *AJSL*, XXVII, No. 4, is a double-entry ledger account from the reign of Dungi, of a certain kind of wood, grain, and binding-reeds, although it was written two years earlier. It covers the transactions of the same period of the year, evidently the period when these commodities were being harvested. This series of transactions differs from that of *HLC*, 16, previously published,¹⁷ in that all the grain, wood, and reeds gathered remain on hand, except the small portion of GAB-grain given to the king, Dungi (col. iii. 13. 14).

¹⁵ Supplied from *HLC*, I. 16, vi. 13. Cf. *AJSL*, XXVII, p. 327, n. 34.

¹⁶ According to Thureau-Dangin, *SAK*, 232, this was the 42d year of Dungi; according to Myhrman, *BE*, III¹, 38, his 54th year.

¹⁷ *AJSL*, XXVII, 322 ff.

Book Notices

SOME PUBLISHED TEXTS FROM DRÉHEM

Dréhem is the name of a Babylonian ruin about one-half hour south of Niffer, half-way between Niffer and Suḫ el-Afej. It has never been excavated under any firman, but has been a quarry for some years of energetic natives. The stores of their finds have been handled by antiquity dealers in more than one European center, and have finally reached a few important museums, and some private collections both in Europe and America.

The first published documents known definitely to have come from Dréhem, which had been purchased by the Louvre, were edited by M. Fr. Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d'Assyriologique* VII, pp. 186 ff. (1910). There are thirteen of these, and they are merely samples of the Louvre collection from Dréhem. They are records or lists of animals, for the keeping of which these tablets were prepared. They recite the kinds of animals, their owners, their overseer, the place from which they came, and that to which they were to be taken. The frequent mention of deities has led to the supposition that these are lists of contributions made by individuals to the worship of the several divinities revered and worshiped at some shrine or temple. There is also added on most of the tablets a date which locates these documents in the dynasty of Ur. On this first list published by Thureau-Dangin we discover such prominent characters as *I-lu-ri-a*, patesi of Ašnun[ak], *Ar-ši-iḫ*, patesi of Babylon, *Gu-de-a*, patesi of Kutha, *Ur-mes*, patesi of SAG-PA-KAB-DU¹.

The large numbers of animals of different kinds mentioned on these thirteen tablets would point either to a kind of animal exchange or market, or else to a center from which animals were taken for sacrificial purposes, or, both may have been combined into one for both purposes.

Our knowledge of the Dréhem tablets is now largely increased by the issuance in 1911 of three thin volumes, two by De Genouillac,¹ and one by Langdon.² De Genouillac found 211 of these Dréhem documents in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople. Of these he has reproduced in facsimile in his first volume sixty-seven tablets. In Brussels he discovered 400 with the same *provenance*, out of which he selected and reproduced only

¹ LA TROUVAILLE DE DRÉHEM: Étude avec un choix de textes de Constantinople et Bruxelles par H. de Genouillac. Paris: Geuthner, 1911. Twenty plates.

TABLETTES DE DRÉHEM, publiées avec inventaire et tables par H. de Genouillac. Paris: Geuthner, 1911. Fifty-one plates.

² TABLETS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF DRÉHEM, with a complete account of the origin of the Sumerian Calendar, Translation, Commentary, and twenty-three plates. By Stephen Langdon. Paris: Geuthner, 1911.

twenty-four; making a total of ninety-one in this volume, and all of them whole and complete and well written.

In addition to the bare texts De Genouillac has furnished us with an index of the names of the persons found on the tablets, names of cities identified and unidentified, a list of all other names of places found on all the other published texts from Dréhem, the years and the months, the dates of the documents, the divinities mentioned, and the transliteration and translation of just one of the ninety-one tablets.

One of the interesting features of these tablets is that of the compounding of the proper name "GIMIL" with the name of some divinity, e.g., GIMIL-DA-DA, No. 13; GIMIL-^dDUN-GI, No. 25, III; GIMIL-É-A, No. 60; GIMIL-^dEN-LIL-LÁ, son of the king, No. 86; GIMIL-^dNISABA, No. 28; GIMIL-^dSIN, No. 13. There are also thirty names of which the first element is "UR"; as UR-^dADAD, the patesi, No. 89; UR-AZAG-NUN-NA, Nos. 23, 68, 71, 73; UR-^dBA-Ú, Nos. 4, 13, 20; UR-^dBUR-^dSIN, No. 4; UR-^dDUMU-ZI-DA, Nos. 22, 90; UR-^dEN-KI, No. 59; UR-^dNIN-A-ZU, No. 66; UR-^dNIN-KUR-RA, patesi of Šuruppak, Nos. 26, 28; UR-^dSIN, son of the king, No. 82.

Some of the unidentified cities by a very natural reading are: Hamatsi, No. 69, which like Urbillu, Simurru, and Lulubu was located east of the Tigris, and at one time conquered by a very ancient patesi of Kiš who dedicated to his god Zamama a vase taken in the booty of Hamatsi; Marbaši, No. 27; Simanum, No. 84; Tupa, No. 80; URU-SAG-PA-KAB-DU, No. 25. Other cities which had a local governor were: A-BI-AK, No. 78; and MARAD, No. 25, III.

These tablets confirm the opinion expressed regarding the character and contents of the first thirteen published by Thureau-Dangin.

De Genouillac's second volume is a collection of 176 documents acquired by the Louvre and for completeness includes the thirteen published by M. Thureau-Dangin in *R.A.* (VII, pp. 186 ff.). All except one of these are regarded as having come from Dréhem. Their contents indicate that they were the archives of some great central administration which manipulated the herds of cattle, large and small, which were offered as sacrifices at some prominent temple. The many names of cities and of patesis found on these tablets point to a geographical status and area that would favor the temple of Enlil at Nippur as that temple.

The tablets in this second volume mention, in addition to animals, sacrifices or gifts of precious metals and stones, skins, and various other objects. De Genouillac does not attempt to furnish us with a single translation, but gives an inventory of the contents of each tablet. He also supplies an index of proper names, names of deities, kings, and sacred objects, and also names of cities, countries, and places.

Among the 460 proper names there are ten whose first element is ^dDUN-GI, and eleven with GIMIL at the beginning, while twenty-two begin with LUGAL, and no less than fifty-two begin with the syllable UR. In the list of

divine names we discover such rare forms as ^dBI-ŠI-LA and ^dGU-NU-RA, No. 5482; ^dHA-NI, No. 5482 obv.; ^dKAL-KAL, No. 5501 obv. II; ^dME-ME-ŠÁ(G)-GA, No. 5501 rev. I; ^dNIN-DIN-Ū(G)-GA, No. 5501 obv. I; variant of preceding ^dNIN-TI-Ū(G)-GA, No. 5550; ^dNIN-PISAN×GI, No. 5501 obv.; ^dSU-KUR-RU-KI, No. 4682 rev.; ^dUL-MA-ŠI-TÛM, No. 5552 obv.

Not less than seventeen cities are given whose patesi is known by name, and many of them were the first cities of their day.

Langdon's volume consists of sixty-eight tablets which were purchased from a London dealer and are now in the Bodleian Library and Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The title leads one to expect a very full discussion of the Sumerian Calendar, and a translation and commentary of all the documents. According to Langdon's estimate these tablets belong to a period of thirty-one years in the dynasty of Ur, B.C. 2413-2382. The larger part of the Introduction is devoted to a study of the Sumerian Calendar. Langdon attempts to fix the time of the months by their original significance, or better, by his interpretation of the meaning of the words. His method of argumentation does not inspire full confidence in his results. It is entirely within the range of possibility that the original meaning had little to do with their arrangement in later times. But he produces as a result of his discussion what he calls the secondary Nippurian Calendar. This he adds to (1) the pre-Sargonic fixed by De Genouillac (2) the Sargonic at Lagash, and (3) the period of Dungi at Lagash determined by Thureau-Dangin and partly by Radau; and (4) the ordinary Nippurian by V R 43, and 29, No. 1. These five calendars give us sixty names of months, thirty-six that are unique, and a few cases where the same name represents a different month in another calendar. These striking differences are still more emphasized when one compares with all five of them the new calendar published by Thureau-Dangin in *R.A.* VIII (p. 152), from a tablet from Djokha, the ancient Umma. In this list of names of thirteen months five only are found in Langdon's comparative table of sixty names. These five are the well-known ITU ŠE-KIN-KUD, ITU ŠU-NUMUN, ITU NE-GUN, ITU EZEN-^dDUN-GI, and ITU DUMU-ZI. And the peculiar fact about these five months is that of all the five calendars given in Langdon's table, they are all found only in the calendar of the period of Dungi at Lagash; but they are not in the same order as on that calendar, nor are they at the same distances apart.

At the present time, we have at least forty different names of the months of the Sumerian Calendar. Add to this the troublesome intercalary month that had to be introduced at regular periods to even up the calendar, and we begin to realize that our investigations of the calendar have not been concluded nor the last word been spoken.

We now turn to Langdon's translation, with commentary and notes at the bottom of the page, to discover the revelations of these sixty-eight documents. Imagine our disappointment when we find that he has translated very few of the tablets, and that he has interpreted every date in the terms

of his chronological tables published in the *Expositor* of August, 1910. His heading to this section would better be "inventaire."

It would be much more consonant with the ancient character and uniqueness of the tablets to translate the year, as in No. 8, "year when Shashru was destroyed"; or No. 12, "year when he built the fortress Mada"; or No. 19, "Year that Bur-Sin the king devastated Urbillum"; or No. 31, "Year after the ship of Ea had been consecrated"; or No. 48, "Year when he set up the throne of Bel"; than to interpret the dates after any chronological scheme, as we find here, for No. 8, "Sixth year of Bur-Sin," for No. 12, "Year 35+X of Dungi," for No. 19, "Second year of Bur-Sin," for No. 31, "Third year of Gimil-Sin," for No. 48, "Third year of Bur-Sin." It would have been much more satisfactory to the reader if each date had been translated, and not interpreted.

Of Nos. 12, 19, 46, 47, 48, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, instead of a translation we have a rough summary of the contents of the tablets.

One of the interesting revelations of these tablets is that seen in the character of the proper names. They are much more largely Semitic than Sumerian, and seem to point to the dominance of the Semites at this period (B.C. 2413-2382) in the immediate vicinity of Nippur.

On examination of the "Translation" we note a few of the inadvertencies: No. 2, the name on the seal is syllabically LA-NA-DU, and probably not Ginnab; No. 10, the date is 27th, not 28th of the month; No. 14, Ur-šu receives from AB-BA-KAL-LA (not Abbašagga); No. 15, on the margin we find "22 oxen, 3 lambs"; No. 29, the name should be Abbašagga; No. 32, should be "one fat sheep, one sheep, two lambs, one kid"; No. 35, Nanar received two fat sheep, one lamb; No. 46, the numbers of animals given are mostly totals; No. 52 should read "ten choice fat oxen," for "one fat ox"; in line 6 read URAB-AZAG-GA for Urabšagga; No. 55, "year when the divine throne, making glad the heart of EN-LIL, was made," is omitted; No. 56, the date is omitted in the summary; it should be "year when the great high priest was made lord of Ur"; No. 62, 15th day should be 17th day.

Of typographical oversights we note on p. 5, l. 5, "Nineteen" should be "Thirteen"; l. 7 from bottom, should not Šurupak be read Šuruppak (cf. same on p. 23, No. 50.)? Intercalary appears ten times with two l's; we find on p. 6, "pratical"; on p. 7 "regular," "barly-harvest"; p. 10, notes, "Schribners," p. 11, "Semetic," p. 15, No. 7, "mumber"; p. 24, No. 54, read "Gatiran"; p. 25, No. 62, "Eigth"; 63, "woollen."

An examination of all the dates on the tablets adds little of real value to our knowledge of the Sumerian Calendar. Langdon's location of the origin of the Sumerian Calendar at least 2,160 years before that date of the Dréhem tablets (B.C. 2413-2382) is a matter for much more elaborate discussions with a larger basis of facts before we can fully subscribe to the results of such an hypothesis.

The latest group of Dréhem tablets to be published is found in *Revue d'Assyriologique* VIII, pp. 183 ff., by L. Delaporte. It consists of twenty-one tablets, all excepting two belonging to the collection of Bessonneau. Delaporte has translated each tablet, except now and then a strange word, and added a very few explanatory notes. Very interesting is the discovery on these tablets of the names of five patesis, one being entirely new, viz.: LI-BA-NU-UG-ŠA-BA-AŠ of Marḥaši (No. 11). New cities also appear for the first time: Gabgabni (No. 13), Maḥli (No. 13), Šame (No. 4), Šišil (No. 1), Tūmmal (No. 8), and Zidannu (No. 7). Five of the proper names are compounded with the name of some divinity: ^dDUN-GI-KALAM-MA (No. 14); ^{HE}-DU-UT-^dBUR-^dSIN (No. 14); GIMIL-^dDUN-GI (No. 12); ^dGIMIL-^dSIN-LA-MA-ḤA-AR (No. 18); ^dBUR-^dSIN . . . (No. 17).

Among the months we find NE-NE-GAR-RA, which does not occur in the same form in any of the five calendars published by Langdon, nor that by Thureau-Dangin (*R.A.* VIII, p. 152), though the second month has two of the four syllables, viz.: GAR-RA. There is also one month called month of the feast of ^dGIMIL-^dSIN (No. 16), not mentioned on the calendars of Langdon, and another called "month of U-BI-ḤU-KU, year when the great high priest of Uruk was installed" (No. 22); another is "month of APIN-GAB-A" (No. 20).

These 356 tablets from Dréhem have opened a door into one of the activities of the ancient Babylonians about which we have known little. They have introduced us to several new cities and governors, and supplied us with additional material to help solve the troublesome question of the Sumerian Calendar.

IRA MAURICE PRICE

HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS¹

This work of Dr. Charles upon the *Hittite Inscriptions* is the first presentation to the public of any portion of the fruits of the Cornell expedition organized by Professor Sterrett. The work is most welcome. The writers visited all the Hittite inscriptions known at the time the expedition was in the field and discovered a number of new ones. The workers took with them Messerschmidt's *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettitarum* with the exception of the "Zweiter Nachtrag" which had not appeared when they left America. They compared Messerschmidt's copies with the inscriptions themselves, and Dr. Charles has made many corrections and additions, as a comparison of any of his copies with those of the *Corpus* will show.

The methods of the workers was most thorough. On reaching an inscription, it was first cleaned, then the squeeze paper was pounded in, its white surface revealing each variation in the elevation of the stone. A hand copy

¹ CORNELL EXPEDITION TO ASIA MINOR AND THE ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN ORIENT—TRAVELS AND STUDIES IN THE NEARER EAST. By A. T. Olmstead, B. B. Charles, J. E. Wrench. Vol. I, Part II. HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS. Ithaca, N.Y.: Andrus & Church, 1911. 4to, pp. iv+49. \$1.50.

of the inscription was next made; then, when the sun cast the longest shadows, it was photographed. Finally the squeeze paper was removed. In editing the work the field copies, the photographs, and the squeezes have all been compared repeatedly. In connection with each plate a complete bibliography of that text is given.

Perhaps the greatest triumph of the persistence and ingenuity of these young American scholars is the fairly complete text secured by them of the inscription of Nisan Tash at Boghaz Koi—an inscription which Winckler had given up as hopeless. The work is a credit to American scholarship. As an earnest of the results of the Cornell expedition it raises high expectations and begets the hope that the balance may not long be delayed.

GEORGE A. BARTON

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BABYLONIAN PROVERBS

By S. LANGDON
Oxford, England

The texts edited here prove conclusively that the Babylonians possessed books of wisdom closely allied to the specimens of that type of literature in Aramaic and Hebrew. K. 4347 (=II R. 16) is the only nearly complete tablet of this kind of Babylonian literature which we possess and probably does not belong to a series. Obverse and reverse have each three double columns of about sixty-five lines and when complete must have held nearly four hundred lines and about one hundred proverbs. Sm. 61¹ was a much smaller tablet, also not part of a series, and ends with a saying exhorting men to study literature and the art of writing. This is the only tablet of proverbs on which the last line has been preserved, and it is on this evidence alone that I infer that each tablet is complete in itself.

The major tablet and the fragments are drawn up in two languages, Sumerian and Semitic, and all are copies made from Babylonian tablets for the Library of Ašurbanipal. Inasmuch as these proverbs represent the most profound reflections upon life which

¹ Also published by Delitzsch, *AL*.¹

emanated from the Babylonian schools, it is important to have some opinion regarding the age from which they come. I am convinced, solely on grammatical grounds, that the Sumerian is *not* the original. It contains many evidences of Semitic influence and the type of wisdom is so clearly allied to that of the Hebrews that we must attribute the production of these profound observations to Semitic thinkers. Inasmuch as these tablets already existed in Babylonia before the time of Ašurbanipal and their literary form agrees so closely with the Sumero-Babylonian selections from the legal codes, the so-called *ana itti-šu* series which probably date from the classical period, it is most natural to assign the proverbs to the same period.

It is not at all unlikely that profound wisdom of this kind was current in the Babylonian schools as early as 2300 B.C. or the period of the Isin, Larsa, and Babylonian dynasties. We have here evidence of pan-Babylonian influence in Asia in still another type of literature which was previously supposed to be original and almost unique in Hebrew. In fact, even the most cautious and conservative Assyriologists are rapidly becoming pan-Babylonists in a religio-cultural sense. I must profess that my study of this type of literature has led me to complete acceptance of pan-Babylonian influence in the evolution of all that is greatest and most cultural among the ancient Semites.

The importance of Babylonian wisdom-literature has been greatly obscured by the unfortunate first attempt in its interpretation by Martin Jäger, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II, 274–303. He supposed K. 4347 to be a series of riddles and Brünnow was quite justified in his scathing criticism of Jäger's work, *ZA*, VIII, 125–31. In mitigation of Jäger's ineffectual attempt to translate the proverbs, we should not overlook the fact that Sumerian was little understood at that time (1893), and a considerable number of the proverbs are preserved in Sumerian only. Since the publication of the chief text in II R 16, a considerable fragment has been joined, completing the top of col. II and the end of col. IV. The left edge of the tablet is broken away so that columns I and VI are completely lost. I have devoted my attention to a philological interpretation of this literature and have not ventured upon a discussion of related subjects.

Obv. Col. II

§ 17. 6. [. AL-SIG-SIG] i ta-maḥ-ḥa-aṣ
 [U²U ZAL-LU-TA] ina li-pi-i²
 [.] GID: ta-šam-miṭ

"The thou shalt sever and from the omentum thou shalt take it out."

§ 18. 9. [U²U ZAL-LU NA-AL-KUR- li-pa-a² la ta-ak-kal
 KUR-E]
 [U MUD NA-AL-NAG-E] u da-ma la te³-te-iš-ta

"Thou shalt not eat the omentum and blood thou shalt not drink."

§ 19. 11. [NAM-SUR] ṣa-ar-[ra-ti]
 [NA-AL- AGA-E] la te-pu-[uš]
 [Nf] pu-luḥ-ta [šipṭi?]
 [ZA-E NU-MU-UN-KUR-E] la ik-kal-ka

"Baseness thou shalt not do wherefore fear of judgment(?) shall not consume thee."

§ 20. 16. a-ma-ta la tu-lam-man
 ṣa-tu ana libbi-ka
 at

"Words thou shalt not employ falsely to thy heart"

*lipû denotes probably the omentum, of the intestines (Heb. לֶפֶא) as well as the membrane covering the fetus, the caul. In all ages considerable importance has been attached to the presence of caul on the face of a child and, as late as the middle of the last century, the caul of a child was sold in London at an extravagant price since it was supposed to bring good fortune to its owner. The same superstition existed in Babylonia. "If a ewe bear a lion and lipû ina applû ṣakin, caul is found on its face, [the land will have food to eat]." "If a ewe bear a lion and bamatsu ša imitti lipû kuszat tuḥdu ina mâtibāššî, its rump (?) on the right side be covered with caul, there will be abundance in the land." Then follows the omen if the left rump (?) be covered, in which case the prophecy is the reverse gabri, i.e., there will not be abundance. In case both right and left rump (?) are covered the king will have no adversary. Boissier, *Choix*, 28, 11-14. It will be noticed also that the grammatical text CT, XX, 40, 47, states that the presence of lipû, or the omentum near the gall indicates tuḥdu, abundance (misunderstood by Meissner, *SAI*, 3702). lipû is often used of the fat or lard on the omentum. For example BM. 21256 Obv. 2, two shekels of oil and two of lipû; and a shekel weight of lipû is used in a medical preparation, CT, XXIII, 43, 11. The restriction concerning the eating of the fat of the omentum accords with the Hebrew ritual of Lev. 3:3, where the לֶפֶא is among the parts of the meal-offering which are burned. Whether lipû is philologically connected with לֶפֶא, I would not venture to affirm.

*te is repeated by error of the copyist. The law against the eating of blood is one which we should expect to find in a religion so advanced and spiritualized as the Babylonian. This restriction stands on a level with the ritualistic prohibition of the Hebrews (Lev. 7:27) concerning the eating of blood. In the case of the Hebrews, however, this prohibition comes late and was directed against a custom which appears to have been prevalent in the earlier period.

- § 21. 18. [NAM-GUL-LA] [li-im-] mut-ta
 [NA-MU-UN-AGA-E] [la] te-ip-pu-uš
 [GIL-SA-A(?) DA-ER-E] [su(?) -ku(?)-] ut-ta da-ri-ta
 [. AL-TEG-E] ta-laḫ-ḫi

"Evil thou shalt not do and so an everlasting treasure(?) thou shalt obtain."

- § 22. 22. [. . .] ḫa-ḫi-bu-a mi-lam ma-
 ḫu-ut
 [.] tu-a il-ki
 [. . (?) še]-gi-ru mi-lam uš-
 ziz
 [. . .] ut-te-ir

- § 23. 26. ḫa-ḫi-bu
 (?) še-gi-ri
 [. . .]-ut šu-mi

- § 24. 29. [. . .] zi-ir-ma
 [. . .]-ra-am
 [. . . ?še-gi] ru-tu
 uš

- § 25. 33. ti
 ma
 aṣ

 ri-ṣi

- § 26. 38. [. . .]-ṣu li-mun
 um-ma-a-tum šul-ma i-ša-a

"When the is evil, the armies will have success."

- § 27. 40. [NU-]NAD AL-PEŠ-A ina la na-ki⁵-mi-i e-rat-me
 [E]-ŠE NU-KUR-DA-A-NI ina la a-ka-li-me
 AL-GÜR-RI EN-E-ŠE⁴ ka-ab-rat

"Without copulation does a woman conceive and without eating does she become corpulent?"

⁴ E-ŠE EN-E-ŠE, a correlative conjunction, is a variant of ENNAŠ ENNAŠ, *Sum. Gram.*, § 238.

⁵ nāku, to copulate, embrace in sleep, Arabic نكح. see Brünnow in *ZA*, 8, 127; Meissner, *MVAG*, 1907, 152; Hunger, *ibid.*, 1909, 226.

- § 28. 43. UM-ME-DA NÁ-A na-a-ku šu-nu-ka
GA-KGAÁ IB-TA-AN-RU⁶ u-da-ad-da⁶

"Copulation supplies milk to give to suckle."

The point of this proverb appears to be that procreation must precede birth and the nursing of children. Both of the proverbs in the last two paragraphs are probably aimed at the indolent wives of Babylonia who sought after luxury and shrank from motherhood, a burden which many left to slave wives. They cannot expect descendants of their own blood without complying with the laws of Nature.

- § 29. 45. GA-GAR MU-DA-AN-KÁR⁷ lu-uš-kun ik-ki-mu
GA-AN- DIRIG- GA lu-ut- tir-ma
A-BA MU-RA-AN-SÍG⁸ man-nu i-nam-din

"If I toil it is seized away from me; if I toil even more and again who will repay me?"

Brünnow, *ZA*, VIII, 129, gave a translation of this proverb which accords substantially with my own. The sage evidently intends to disparage ambition and wearisome toil. The second part of the proverb I take to mean, "Even if I do more than is required of me, who will appreciate it?" That is, it is useless to exert oneself to do more than one has agreed to do, for nobody will be grateful for it.

- § 30. 48. ŪB A-NU-GÁL-LA AL-BAL- [burta ša la mē iḥri]
BAL
SU IN-A-ŠE-NU-A⁹ AL-ŠÁR- ma-ša-ak la šen-[ni ušarri]
ŠÁR

"A well where no water is he has dug; husk without grain he has raised."¹⁰

⁶ The verb *dadû*, to supply milk to an infant. The Sumerian has GA-KGAÁ, "breast+milk drinking" and *nu=šarāku*, to give. *dadû*, therefore, "to feed on milk at the breast." The noun *dādû*, "babe, beloved," I take to be the participle *dādî'u* *dādû*, one who feeds at the breast, hence "infant." For the final long vowel, see *da-du-u-a*, my babe, my beloved, *VAB*, IV, 62, 11. The infinitive possibly in *Tašmetum* *ilat su-blu da-di*, goddess of prayer and child fostering, *King, Magic*, no. I, 37=XXXIII, 20.

⁷ For the Sumerian precativè as conditional, see *Sum. Gram.*, § 219, and for the passive infix *DA*, p. 146. The Semitic has "they seize from me."

⁸ *RA* infixed properly denotes only the dative of the sec. per. sing., § 197.

⁹ The Sumerian has literally, "covering of straw in which there is no grain." For *šennu* = grain in the stalk, vide *K. 9964*, 6, *še-in i[kli]* = . . . *ašagga*, and *še-in-ni* = . . . *in-nu-ĜA*. *in-a-še* is probably equivalent to *še-in-nu*, whence *šennu* "grain in the straw." *in-nu=tibnu*, straw, is assured by the syllabars, but *še-in-nu=tibnu* is nowhere found, despite *Deltzsch, HW*, 700, and *Meissner, SAI*, 5424. It is probable that *še-in-nu* is everywhere to be read *šennu*, grain in the straw, unthreshed grain, and to be kept distinct from *tibnu*.

¹⁰ Proverb 30 is a meditation upon the rewards of toil, a theme entered upon in paragraph 29.

- § 31. 50. A-RI-A-ŠĀ DINGIR-BI a-na[na-]me-e i-lu-šū-nu
 GÍ-GÍ-NE i-tu-ru
 É-ŠUB-ŠĀ ana biti na-di-i
 AKKIL GA-AN-TUR i-te-ru-ub ik-kil-lum
 GA-AN-DURUN NIG-ERIM aš-šab rag-gu
 55. NU *UR-RA GIŠPITUGGA RI-
 IM¹¹ ul ú-lab-bar ḥa-a-s-su
 UM-ME-TAG AZAG-ZU um-ma-na im-ḫa
 [NAM-AZAG-]ZU-AN-NI LU-
 GAL-BI ša ni-me-ik-šu bēli-šu
 [GIŠPI TUG-]GA-NA RI-GA¹² la ḥa-as-su
 LĀ KAL-LA ù mim-ma aḫ-ra
 60. GIŠ PI TUG-GA-NA ša¹⁴ be-el-šu
 [LUGAL-NI NU-]ZU-ŠĀ-A¹³ im-šu-šu
 [NIG-ŠAG-ĜAB-NI GÁL]LI-EN ib-ba-āš-ši ḥi-šah-ta-šū-ma
 [SAG-NI BA-]IL-LA in-na-ši ri-is-su

"Where the gods into the wilderness have turned away, into the ruined house lamentation has entered, and the tenant¹⁵ is wickedness. He that is wise attains not to old age. The skilled workman and the artisan whose master need not give heed to their skill, and to whom their master entrusts everything valuable—unto him is come hunger. The best¹⁶ that he has is carried away."

§ 31 is a meditation upon godlessness, the evils which befall a community whose gods have deserted it or have been taken into captivity. A considerable number of Babylonian psalms and liturgies are based upon the same theme. "The city to which its lord turns not in compassion, sighs itself away into silence," so begins one of the long liturgies, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 96, 1. The gods who were carried away into captivity, were supposed to have abandoned their temples and their cities because of the sins of their worshipers. Therefore, at the end of the liturgies the psalmists invariably attached a hymn to the flute "libbi-ka linûḫ kabittakalipšah," "May thy heart be stilled, may thy soul be appeased." That the same theory of a religious aristocracy in which the economic welfare of the state depends absolutely upon the presence and good-will of the patron deities, should be found in the Book of Wisdom itself shows the profound religious attitude which pervaded Babylonian thought.

¹¹ RIM is apparently a word for "run, go," Br. 4818. *UR-RA . . . RIM=labiruta illak. For the value GIŠPITUGGA, see SAK., 64, Statuette f) II, 5.

¹² Literally "his attention he neglected," uznāšu uramma.

¹³ We have here the Sumerian for "to forget," viz., GIŠPI TUG NU-ZU. Note the agglutinative construction LĀ . . . ŠĀ="to whom his lord did not give heed in regard to anything valuable." The text has 𒀭𒀭𒀭 which I have regarded as an error for 𒀭𒀭𒀭.

¹⁴ Corresponds to LĀ.

¹⁵ For aššabu, tenant, see Hammurabi Code, § 78.

¹⁶ RIMU might be for rēš-šu, or rit-šu "his fodder." rēšu in the sense of "choice, best," is conjectural.

§ 32. Col. II, 64 to end, traces of
three lines.

Col. III, 1-2 [AN-ZIL] zil-li mu-ka-ti-[. . .]
[KALAMA-TA MU-UN-KUR-E] ik-kal¹⁷ ina māti

"Insolence against he shall do in the land."

§ 33. 3. GIŠ-GIN [MU-NI-TUM] it-bal-mi²⁰ a-bu
ŠAM GIN- BI šī-im ḵa-ni-šu
Ù ŠAG-TUM-MA ŠAM [Ó]¹⁸-BI ù ḵir-bi-e-tum
E-NE-E¹⁹ šī-im šam-mi-ša

"Does a marsh take away for itself the price of its reeds,
or a field the price of its vegetation?"

§ 34. 7. Á-GAL NI-KUR-E ik-kal li-'-u
ŠAM Á-BI [E-ŠE] šī-im i-di-šu
Ù Á-NU-GÁL-LA ù la li-'-u
ŠAM GINA-BI E-ŠE šī-im šer-ri-šu²¹

"The strong man lives from the price of his hire, but the weak lives from
the price of his children."

Paragraphs 33 and 34 are a meditation upon the frailty and helplessness
of man compared with the fertility and independence of nature. The marsh
lands produce reeds and the fields produce grass, but they do not consume
the produce of their toil. But even the strong man must live upon his
earnings. Among men there are some so feeble that they cannot earn a
living and are compelled to sell their children to obtain food to eat.

§ 35. 11. SAG-KÜR lib-bi bi
. . . KÜR(?) SAG-KÜR bi-ki-ti ša
. ZÍ-EN šī-ta-la

§ 36. 14. [. . .]-LA-MU AL-ŠAG ú-ri-mi²² da-[mi-iḵ]
ÙG-MA-E- DÉ ina ni-ši-ja
TI-IL-BA-AB-DUG²²-EN-E-ŠE gu-um-mu-ra-an-ni

"My is good yet it puts an end to me from among my people."

¹⁷ For the phrase zillī akālu, "to act disgracefully, to insult"; cf. an-zil-la
ša ilāni asakku takul. "Thou has insulted the gods, a disgraceful thing," Jas-
trow, *Fragment of the Etana Legend*, Rev. 9=Obv. 7, *JAOS*, Vol. XXX, and for the idea,
ikkib a-ku-lum ul idi, "If I have acted insolently I know not," IV R. 10a, 46.

¹⁸ ū=šammu is omitted by the copyist.

¹⁹ The corresponding member of the correlative ENZ is omitted at the end of l. 4. For
the construction, see *Sum. Gram.*, § 238.

²⁰ For mi interrogative suffix, see also § 27.

²¹ For the idea cf. Virolleaud, *Sin*, XXXIV, 58, if there be an eclipse of the moon on
the 14th of the 12th month, nišē šer-ri-ši-na ana kaspim ipaššarū, "the
people will ransom their children for money" (cited also by Muss-Arnolt).

²² The full form of this compound verb is TIL-DUG; TIL alone means gamāru. For
the element dug attached to roots to strengthen their meanings, see *Sum. Gram.*, § 153.

²³ urimu is a word wholly unknown, and the Sumerian equivalent is broken away.
LAL is possible from the traces on the tablet. On the other hand mi may be the emphatic

- § 37. 17. DÜ-A-BI AL-ŠAG ana ka-la da-mi-iḫ
 ù TUḠ GAR-IB BA-AN-TU u u-la-pa²⁴ la-bi-iš
 "He is altogether righteous and good, yet he is clothed in rags."

- § 38. 19. IGI-GUD DA-DU-A pa-an al-pi a-li-ki
 MUD-ŠU NE-IB-RA-RA ina up-pi²⁵ ta-rap-pi-is
 (Semitic.) "The face of a walking ox with a lash dost thou smite?"
 (Sumerian.) "The face of a walking ox with a lash thou shalt not
 smite."

- § 39. 21. DUG-MU AN-TA-TŪM-TŪM- al-la-ka bir-ka-a-a
 MU
 GĪR-MU NU-KUŠ-ð la a-ni-ḫa še-pa-a-a
 LÙ SAG-DŪ-DŪ NU-TUK-A la ra-aš ta-šim-ti
 GIGAM MU-UN-UŠ-E ip-pi-ra ri-dan-ni
- “Yet as for me whose knees hasten, whose feet are not weary, a man of no judgment pursues me with sorrows.”

- § 40. 25. DÖR-A-NA ME-EN a-ga-la-şú [ana-ku]
ANŞU ŞUGUB²⁶-ŞÚ AB-LAL-E ana pa-ri-e şa-an-da-ku
²¹⁸GAR ŞU-GI-ME NA-NAM nar-kab-ta şa-bat-ku-ma
Gİ-Ú ŞIN şu-[te]-ú [kaní u rítí]
AB-IL-LÉ-E-EN a-za-ab-[ba- al]

"His ass am I. With a mule I am harnessed. A wagon I draw. To seek for cane and fodder I bear the yoke."

§ 41. 30-34. Semitic text entirely obliterated. In the Sumerian section only a few signs preserved.

- § 42. 35. GĪG-A-NU-ZU NU-ME-A si-im-me[ša asū la ibaššū]
 ŠAG-GAR-RA KUR-E la a-[ka-lu ina hišaḫti]
 NU-ME-A [ibaššī]
 GĪŠ APIN [epinnu]
 KUBABBAR-RA-[BI] [sarpi-šu]

or interrogative particle, and the word in question would be *u ru*. In this case one might choose the word *ū ru*, roof, house, but the Sumerian excludes this interpretation. A reasonable interpretation is not possible at present.

³² The meaning "cord, string," is the only one established by the texts. The lexicons give the meaning "friend" as possible, for which Arabic 'ilfun, would supply a parallel. Note that ulap u and pû, strings and straw, are used with clay to form a kind of adhesive mortar, V R. 42. 23f. ulap lupputim, the cord of a worn-out bag or bottle (CT, 18. 14, 54) forms part of a magical broth, IV R. 58 I 30 and 55. 32.

"uppu, literally "braid," woven strand of coarse fiber. Sumerian mud=uppu is dialectic for mug a coarse cloth, *Sum. Gram.*, p. 229. mud-kuš=uppi ahu, braid of a net, *CT*, XIX, 19, 49.

²⁶ Read Br. 10864; cf. *DHW* under *paûr*; *ZA*, XVII, 240.

40. GIŠ
GUŠKIN-BI	[buraši-šu]
A ½ GAR 3 SAM-MU ²⁷	[mê ½ gar 3 ammati]
ŠAG UTUL-ĀŠ ŠUB-DA	[ina libbi diḫari nad]
MU-UN-TŪM-TŪM-MU	[anašši]

"A disease for which there is no physician (I have). (For me) in hunger there is nought to eat. [For the hire of] watering machines [I have not] silver; [for the hire of] [I have not] gold. Water which is put in water buckets for 14 feet I draw."²⁸


§ 43. 45. ABZAL-MU	"My oven, which
TUG-ĀM RIG-TA	like a garment has been torn in pieces,
MA-E GŪN-E	I gather.
ĠAB-ILA-MU ²⁹	My servant
ABZU RI-RIG	the ocean has seized away." ³⁰

§ 44. É-A ESIR-Ē-A	ina bit [kupri]
SĠG-AL-ŪR-RA-TA	[u agurri]
AL-DURUN-[E-ŠE]	uššab
IM-MA PISAN-SAG-GA	ṭiṭu
MUĠ-MU AL-GISAL	eli-iāši inattuḫ
E-NE-E-ŠE	

"In a house of pitch and burnt brick I dwell. Clay upon me flows."

§ 45. 50. MU-IM-MA SĠG-ŠAR	The of garlic
IM-MA-AN-KUR-E	I eat.
NU- ĀM	Like fire(?)
ŠAG-MU AL-GIR-GIR-E	my inwards burn.

§ 46. GIDUR-ŠIG-GA	In a full morass
AB-Ū-[E]	I flounder, ³¹
Ū GI-KA	and on reed of wailing(?)
GŪ-MU-UN-ZU-[E]	I sigh in measures.
IGI-NU-MU-NI-IN-[BAR]	My eyes see not.

²⁷ Sic! The value sam for  is supposed to be Semitic. It would be hazardous on the basis of this text alone to infer the value sam for the word for cubit. A half GAR and 3 cubits would be about 14 feet.

²⁸ The restorations and interpretation of this section are conjectural.

²⁹ GUB-ILA in a list of titles of menials, K. 4244, Obv. 10 (CT, XIX, 10). Cf. LÚ-GUB =ameluḫuppû and explained by epīš tušši, a kind of apothecary, V R. 32, 26. Also II R. 51, 43, followed by epīš bašāmi, maker of balsams. Note GUB in the titles GUB-KAS, a mule herd, Genouillac, TSA, XXVII; Pinches, *Amherst* No. 2; Nikolski 59 Obv. II, etc. GUB-RA a kind of shepherd, TSA, 7 Obv. III, 13 Obv. IV; Allotte de la Fuye, DP, 113, XII; Nikolski 13 Rev. IV, etc. K. 4244 begins with ideograms for shepherd and GUB-ILA is translated by šab

³⁰ The Semitic text is obliterated.

³¹ Literally "ride."

§ 47. Traces of about four lines at the end of col. III.

§ 48. Col. IV, 1-3. ZI . . . Nf- *terror*
 TE ZI-GE The great dogs have taken away my
 UR-DÚR-RI Á-MU IN-È-A possessions
 SŪ-BA-AN-KUD-DÉ-EN and have bitten me.

§ 49. 4. MUŠEN IN-NA-AB-BI[-EN] A bird speaks
 ŪR-BI AN-NA and its oracle [is proclaimed?]
 Ū SU-BI MI-IN-BAR-RI-EN and its body is divided.³²

§ 50. 7. TI-LA ŠA-DU-BA- TA bu-luṭ ṣa am-ša-la³⁴
 UD-DA AN-GA-ME-A³⁵ ū-mi ū-ṣ[i?]
 "The life of day before yesterday to-day is departed."³⁵

§ 51. 9. G¹⁵ GU-ZA ITU AB-BA-È . ki-ma ku-us-si ṣa³⁷ ina
 [arab ṭebiti]
 MŪŠ-AN-SILIM DÉ-IB- ti-iḫ-ni
 SAR-SAR-RI- EN tu-tag-ga-nu
 Ū TIL- MU ū a-na ṣi-li³⁸ [ṣatti]
 AL- ERIDA³⁶ ta-nam-da-[a]

"Like a chair which in the month Tebit³⁹ thou fashionest well and at the end of the year thou castest away."

§ 52. 14. G¹⁵ GU-ZA GALU-RA DINGIR- ki-ma ku-us-si[amelu]
 RA-A-NI⁴⁰
 D. ŠA-ĦA-AN AL-ME-A ša ili-šu ^{11u}ša-a-[ḥa-an]
 ER-IM-MA-AN-ŠÉŠ-ŠÉŠ ta-pa-ak-ka-[a- šu]
 SU-BI AN-ŠE-TAB-TAB-BI-EN tu-ṣar-ra-[pu zumri-su]
 Ū IZI AN-NA-AB-UŠ-E u i-ša-tam tu-sa-aḥ-ḥa-za-
 šu

"Like a chair is man, whose god is Šaḥan.⁴⁰ For him thou weepst. Thou causest his body to be burned and fire to consume it."

³² I.e., divided among those who eat thereof. The point of the proverb seems to be that a bird's life is useful in many ways; with which the writer in the next proverb contrasts the worthlessness of human life.

³³ The phrase UDDANGAMEA, may perhaps go back to UDDA IM-MA ME-A. For IM-MA = EMA = EN to go forth (aṣū), cf. IM-MA for ṣit šamši, dally. King, *Magic*, No. 9, 43; and for IMMA = INGA, *Sum. Gram.*, § 40d).

³⁴ Cf. ŠA ANŠALA = ištu ūm šalušši, "since three days ago," *CT*, XVIII, 23. 21.

³⁵ Interpretation not certain.

³⁶ ERIDA, augmented form of ERIA, ruins, employed as a verb. See *Sum. Gram.*, p. 213.

³⁷ The text has clearly A (!).

³⁸ The sign is either tu or li and the Sumerian TIL decides the reading. ṣilu in the sense of end is otherwise unknown.

³⁹ Tenth month.

⁴⁰ ŠAḤAN (Var. SAḤAN) is a Semitic gloss for ŠERAḤ, an inferior deity of fire, and is from the root šaḥānu to burn. For the identity of ^{11u}šeraḥ with ^{11u}šaḥan compare

The proverb refers to the ordinary process of cremating the dead, employed in Babylonia from the earliest Sumerian period and in all periods of Babylonian history. At a man's death his god left his body so that the scribe in saying that a man's god is Šahan virtually means that he has died and is given over to the god of fire who consumes him.

Paragraphs 36-52 form a homogeneous section concerning the wrongs and violences done to the righteous in life, the brevity of human life and its worthlessness compared with animate nature. In most sections the wisdom is taught by the example of a suffering just person, as in the case of the Babylonian and Hebrew Job.

§ 53. 19. 1D-DA-ŠU NE-GAR-RI-EN-AN ina na-ri tab-ba-ši-ma
 A-ZU Ū-ŠAG-DIB-ŠU-ZÍ-DA mu-ka da-ad-da-ru
 AN-GA-ÁM⁴¹ GIŠ ŠAR-ŠU ap-pu-na-ma
 GAR-RI-EN-NA-ZU ina ki-ri-i tab-ši-ma
 SU-LUM-ZU su-lu-up-pa-ka
 ZÍ AN-GA-ÁM⁴¹ mar- tum

"If thou art put in a river thy water becomes straightway stinking.
 If thou art put in a garden thy fruit truly is bitter."

§ 54. 25. DE Ū-MU⁴²-IN-AGA-A aš-šar-šu-ma⁴³
 Ū E-NE NIG-Ū-TU-UD-DA-NI šu-ú ša al-ti-šu-ma
 NA- NAM
 ŠU-SU-UB Ū-MU-NI-IN-AGA- a-ma-aš-ša-as-su
 EŠ: (šic)
 E-NE ŠÍG AN-GA-ÁM šu-ú li-bit-tum-ma

"If I call unto him lo! he is one born of woman.
 If I polish him lo! he is but unburnt brick."

Proverbs 53-54 continue the general idea of the preceding sections. Man is an obnoxious creature who pollutes the water in which he bathes. He cannot be appealed to as a god in time of trouble for he is born of woman and of the earth earthly. Note the veiled reference to the creation of man from clay. According to the Epic of Creation, Marduk formed man from his own blood (bk. VI, 5) of which legend Berossus probably gives the correct version when he says that Marduk commanded a god to sever his (Marduk's) head and mix his blood with earth to form man. The most detailed description of the creation of man in Cuneiform sources states that Marduk created

CT, XXIV, 24. 9, 11 with II R. 59b 21. ŠERAG lit. "threshed grain" (ripsu ša še'im) is also a name of the grain goddess Nisaba (ŠE-RAG).

⁴¹ Cf. GANAM=piša, truly, BA, V, 674, 1. ANGAM also in the date formula of the 12th year of Samsuiluna. MU SAMSUILUNA LUGAL KUR GÜN-DIRIG AN-GA-ÁM MU-DA-BAL-ES, "Year when all lands suddenly rebelled against Samsuiluna."

⁴² The scribe has probably omitted MI after MU.

⁴³ For aššaru, to call, cry out, vide CT, XVIII, 9, 24, Syn. šarāḫu.

him from earth and reeds with the assistance of the goddess Aruru.⁴⁴ In another legend of creation EA the Water god, father of Marduk, creates the representatives of the various arts from the clay of the ocean.⁴⁵

§ 55. 30. ĠEN[BUR] ⁴⁶ SI-NU-SÁ	ḥab-bur-ru ⁴⁷ la i-ša-ru
AB-ŠIN- E	še-ir-ú
NA-AN-NI-IB-TU-UD	aḷ ú-[šar-ri-i]
SE-GUL NA-AN-NI-IB-GIM-	zi-ra aḷ ib-[ni-i]
MA	

"If the seed corn be not sound it will not produce verdure and create seed."

§ 56. 34. ŠE- NIM- MA	še-um ḥar-[pu] ⁴⁸
SI-NI-SÁ-SÁ-E-NE	iš- še- ir
A-NA- ÁM	mi-nam-[mi]
NI- ZU-UN-NE-EN	ni-i- di
ŠE- SI- GA	še-um ub-bu-lu
SI-NI-SÁ-SÁ-E-ŠE	iš-še- ir
A-NA- ÁM	mi-nam-mi
NI-ZU-UN-NE-EN-E-ŠE	ni-i-di

"Parched grain thrives but what do we understand thereof?
Dried grain thrives but what do we understand thereof?"

§ 57. 42. GA-NAM GA-DIG-GA-EN-NE-	pi-ka-a ma-at man
EN:	
GIŠ-EN ⁴⁹ GA-AN-KUR	lu-ku-ul
GA-NAM GA-TI-LI-NE-EN:	pi-ka-a bul-lu-uṭ
GIŠ-EN GA-NE-IB-GAR	lu-uš-kun

⁴⁴ CT, XIII; BM. 82-5-22, 1048 Obv. 17-21.

⁴⁵ Weissbach, *Miscellen*, Tafel 12, 26 ff.

⁴⁶ Read ŠE-KAK.

⁴⁷ Cf. K. 2882 Obv. 10 (Boissier *Choix*, II, 59) where an omen is taken from the ḥabburu pišē, "white ḥabburu." ḥabburu, Syn. of udditu (V R, 32, 60) and in Sm. 1335 (*Choix*, 153) a mark on the liver is ki-ma udditi "like an udditu"; the tablet has a drawing of the udditu resembling a kernel of wheat. Note also ĠENBUR =zikpu and pir'u, "sprout," SAI, 5441 ff.

⁴⁸ For ḥarāpu to dry, be dried, Heb. חָרַךְ, see also Boissier, *DA*, 66, 17; šumma ina nāri mēlu ḥar-pu nabbillu ittabšu šammašsamnu ḥar-pu damik, "If in a canal the flood dry up and there be black beetles (?), the dried sesame will be good." The *p* is apparently established by Meissner, SAI, 6775, NIM=ḥarpatu, dryness. For NIM=ḥarpu (Prm.) see also *DA*, 66, 18 NIM variant of ḥarpu.

⁴⁹ GIŠ=mannu; cf. MULU=mannu, *Sum. Gram.*, p. 165. Both GIŠ and GALU>MULU are words for "man."

"So quickly it dies and who doth eat thereof? So quickly it is brought to life and who doth cause it?"

§ 58. 46. A-GIR-GIR-NE	iṭ-ṭi-ib-bu-[an-ni?]
ZI-MU MA-DA-KÚD-DA	ik-te-ru ⁵⁰ na-piṣ-ti
ZA(?) MU-NI-IN-DIB-	ana na-du(?) -a as-[sa-bat]
BA	
TÚG- MU	ṣu-ba-a-[ti]
Ú-MUG E	iḫ-tal-[la-pu]

"They have drowned me in water, my soul they have gathered. For a I am taken. They clothe themselves in my garments."

§ 59. 51. MU-LU È-E- NE	mu-lu-u ⁵¹ u-ṣu(?)—-šù ⁵¹
NAGAR NE-IB-MÁ-DÉ-E	nam-ga-ri ip-pat-ti ⁵²

"As for man his departure the carpenter buildeth."

§ 60. ERI ⁵¹⁵ KU-A-NI	a-lu ṣa kak-ka-šù
. . . . LA-GI	la dan-nu
.	na-ak-ru
.	ina pa-an a-bu-ul-li-šù
.	ul ip-paṭ-ṭar

"The city whose weapons are not mighty—from before its city gate the foe shall not be warded off."

§ 61. Col. V, 1-5. Only a few uncertain signs in the Semitic section.

§ 62. 6-9. Sumerian section mostly destroyed. In the Semitic section a few legible signs.

§ 63. 10. IMI-ŠU-RYN-NA-GIM	kima ti-nu-ri
Ù-RA-TA	la-bi-ri
KÚR-KÚR-ZU	ana nu-uk-ku-ri-ka
AL- GÍG	ma-ri-iṣ

⁵⁰ *katāru* is the verb ordinarily employed in the classical period in the expression for dying, *ištu ilu-ša ikteruša*, "After her god has gathered her," *CT*, II, 24, 27 et p. The word was previously taken by me "be complete, make complete," but I now agree with Jensen as to the root meaning "gather, bind," from which we have *kitru*, "alliance," *ikterunimma*, "they formed an alliance," Senn., *Prism*, II, 75; the Ethiopians and Meluhhi whom *iktera ittīšu*, he formed into an alliance with himself, *BM*, 83-1-18, 483, Rev. 5. For the root *gid>kid* (= *κιδ*) to bind, see *Sum. Gram.*, p. 215.

⁵¹ The signs *lu-u* are not certain. The text has clearly *AŠ* not *ŠU*. *uṣu* infinitive (?).

⁵² I have ventured to connect this form with the word *batû*, apparently a by-form of *banû*, to build. The doubling of *p* in the present would be, however, difficult and the interpretation is conjectural.

"Like an oven which has become old thy changing is difficult."⁵³

The proverb would probably be more easily interpreted if we knew the meaning of the preceding sections. The second person singular appears to designate mankind in general. The proverb evidently means that the nature of man cannot be radically changed. He is like a clay oven hardened by long heating which cannot be mended without being destroyed.

§ 64. 14. NI- ⁵⁴ DU-NE ⁵⁵ MU-UN-ILA:	tal-lak taš-ša-a
A-ŠAG LÛ-KÛR-RA-[KA]	e-ki-él nak-ri
NI-DU-[MU]-UN-ILA	il-lak iš-ša-a
A-ŠAG-ZU LÛ-KÛR-RA	e-ki-él-ka nak-ru

"If thou goest and carriest away (the produce) the field of a stranger, the stranger will come and carry away (the produce of) thy field."

§ 65. 18. NAM-LUGAL-LA	šar-ru-tu
... BA-È-A-GE	a
... KU-ÁM	kima [. . . . šubati]

"Royal power disappeareth(?) like of a garment."

Both sections are mostly illegible, but the reference is clearly to the brevity of temporal power.

§ 66.	e mi-nu ⁵⁶	Alas! what
	u-ḫi-il-la-ba bita	shall cover the house?

§ 67.	pu-uḫ-li na-'-pi	"Let beans(?) be baked
	meš-tu-u uli ḫ-ḫar-	that the do not follow(?)
	šu ⁵⁷	them."

§ 68. 25-34. Only ends of lines. § 69. 35-6. § 70. 37-8.

§ 71. 39-40. . . . ri kima ša- like a pig
ḫi-i	
. . . . kas-pa ta-ša- money thou shalt pay.
kal	

Traces of §§ 72. 73. 74.

⁵³ Semitic, "It is difficult to change thee."

⁵⁴ The text has *niš* (!).

⁵⁵ *ne* has the force of a condition here, cf. *Sum. Gram.*, p. 129.

⁵⁶ Sumerian obliterated.

⁵⁷ Or *ḫ-ḫur* (? *mur*?) - *šu*. From *maḫāru*?

Sm. 61

§ 2. 2-4. a-na lib ḥa-ad-di "Upon a glad heart
 šam-nu ša-pi-ik-ma oil is poured out
 ma-am-man uli-di but none knoweth it."⁵⁸

§ 3. 5-6. [SUM-]MA-AB LUGAL-LA-GE na-da-nu ša šarri
 [DUG-GA] ŠU-ḲA-DUG-GE ṭu-ub-bu ša ša-ḱi-i
 "The giving of the king⁵⁹ is the making good of the cup-bearer."

§ 4. 7-8. SUM-MA-AB LUGAL-LA-GE
 ŠAG-GA ISKIM-A-GE dum-mu-ḱu ša a-ba-rak-ku
 . "The giving of the king⁶⁰ is the making gracious of the prophet."

Proverbs 3 and 4 seem to be an observation concerning the natural greed of mankind. Money makes a good cup-bearer as well as a favorable prophet. The second observation places the character of the Babylonian seers in an exceedingly unfavorable light. Augury of all kinds formed an essential part of Babylonian life. This paragraph is a skeptical criticism concerning the value of the diviner's art, which dominated the will and intellect of Babylonian culture. The proverb evidently represents the thought of some individual or exclusive school of learning whose wisdom and philosophy failed to become popular. It is, however, clear evidence of a skeptical attitude toward magic and augury, an attitude which has been hitherto supposed to be original to Greek thought.

§ 5. NAM-KU-LI ŠA⁶⁰ UD-ĀŠ-KAM ib-ru-tum ša ū-ma-ak-kal
 NAM-GI-ME-A-RŪ⁶¹ ki-na-tu-tu
 ŠA⁶⁰ UDA DA-ERI-KAM ša da-ra-a-ti
 "Friendship is of any day, but posterity is of eternity."

§ 6. DU⁶²-DA ṣa-al-tu
 KI NAM-GI-ME-A-RŪ-GE a-šar ki-na-tu-ti
 EME-SIG KUR-KUR kar-ši a-ka-li
 KI NAM-LUG-ŠU NI-GAL a-šar pa-ši-šu-ti ip-pa-aš-ši

"If there be strife in the abode of relations, there is eating of uncleanness in the place of purity."

Strife in a family is compared to defiling a holy place with filth and calumny.

⁵⁸ The words are all well known but the general sense of the proverb escapes me.

⁵⁹ Sum., "Let the king give."

⁶⁰ Sic in Sumerian, an evident Semiticism.

⁶¹ NAM-GI-ME and ŠAG-GI-ME (*Br.* 3661; *Bolssier, D.A.* 245, 28) denote both female slavery as well as the act of begetting (and hence blood relatives). For NAM-GIN-NI="female

- § 7. 16. GIR ERI-KÚR-RA-ÁM u-bar-ru⁶² ina áli ša-nim-ma
SAG-GÀ-ÁM ri-e-ša

"A loafer (if he go to) another city becomes (its) head."

The idea underlying this proverb is nearly identical with that of the other well-known saying, "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country."

- § 8. 18. NA⁶³GAR NU-UN-URÙ ME-EN [šemiru la inaššar]

"A ring does not give protection."

The proverb evidently refers to the wearing of amulets and articles designed to have magical effect. Cf. §§ 3-4.

19. NAM-DUP-ŠAR-RA DAGAL GÙ-DE-GE-E-NE A-A UM-ME-A-GE-EŠ

"Writing is the mother of orators and the father of skilled men."

This line is the last on the tablet which cannot belong to a series since it is not numbered. Unlike other proverbs this one has no Semitic version and extends across the whole tablet.

Bu. 80-7-19, 130 Obv.

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 3. . . . DIM-MA | a-ba-nin sa-an-ku |
| ME-EN | is-ḫa-an dan-na-tu |
| | ana- ku |
| 6. KUR-KUR | alap na-ka-ri šam-me ik-kal |
| BA-A | alap mar[um-]ma-ni-šu |
| E-BA-NAD | gaš-ri-iš iš (sic!) -ni-il |

"The ox of a stranger he feedeth⁶³ but the ox of his workman mightily he afflicteth."

K. 8358

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 2. LI-TAR-RI-ŠÚ BIR-BIR-RI | |
| 3. GÙN URÙ-GAL-LA AN-BU-I | mu-gal |
| 4. NÍ-DÚB A-ŠAG-GA GÍN-NA | ku-up-pu-ru ša iḫli |
| 5. ⁶⁴ VA-GA-LÁ BA-DŪL-LA ⁶⁴ | ina a-la-ki-šu na-ru-uḫ-ka |
| 6. | šu-gal-lu-lu |

slavery." v. Th. Dangin, *RTC*, 295; 291. kinatûtu has properly both senses and is connected with kinātu, blood relation, Sum ER, UR (*Br.* 957) and note that A-RC is attached to NAM-GI-ME to add the idea of "male descendant." Immortality among the Babylonians consisted essentially in having male posterity.

⁶² ubarru is written with the same ideogram as lasāmu "loafer." The word is otherwise unknown.

⁶³ So Sumerian, Semitic, "the ox of a stranger eateth grass."

⁶⁴ Cf. Radau *Miscellaneous Texts*, 2, 18.

7. LUGAL	LUL-LA	šar-ru [sar-ru]
8. . . . LA	BA-AB-UŠ	mur-te-id-du-u šam-ri
9. NU-GI-NA		la ki-nu
10. . . . KU KIN	?-ÁM	ši-it-ta-ni ig-gal-la-šu

"A wicked king leader of the violent—the faithless with frivolity mock him."

11. NU-IL-LA	mu-ur-šu-u aš-ša-ti [la inaššit?]
12. NU-IL-LA	muršū ma-ri [la inaššit?]
13. BA-A	šar-ru la mu-ur-šu-u [...]
14. MA	ra-ma-ni-šu

ADDENDUM

Reference to proverbs current among the people of Babylonia and Assyria occurs in the obscure letter No. 403 of Professor Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*. Two proverbs are cited there:

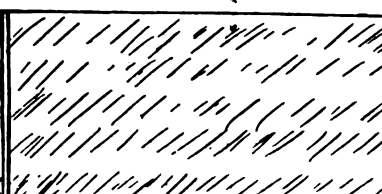
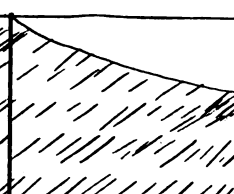
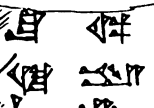
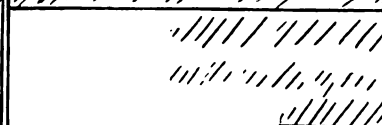
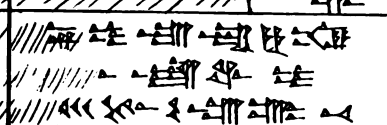

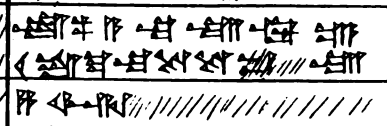

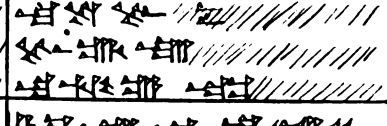
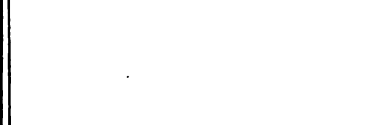
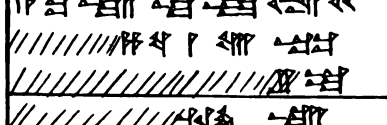

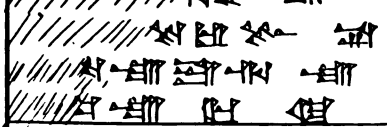

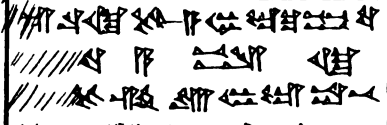
A, Obv. 4-7: ina batte ša pī nišē šakin umma kalbu ša ame¹paḥari ina libbi utuni kī i-ru-bu ana libbi ame¹paḥari u-nam-paḥ.⁶⁵ "Everywhere in the mouth of the people one hears, 'If the dog of a potter has entered into the oven, he is dear (??) to the heart of the potter.'"

B, Obv. 13-15: ina battimma ša pī šakin umma zinništu ḥaditu ina bāb bit daiāni pī-ša al-la⁶⁶ ša mūti-ša da-an. "Everywhere in the mouth of the people one hears, 'The word of an harlot in the gate of the house of the judge prevails over that of her husband.'"
[For an interpretation of this letter see Johnston, *AJSL*, XXII 244.]

⁶⁵For unappaḥ, cf. u-na-paḥ, Bossler, *Choix* 23, 18.

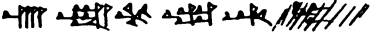

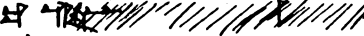
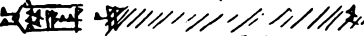
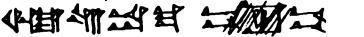

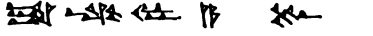

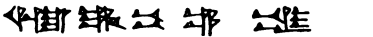
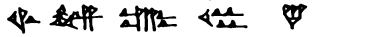


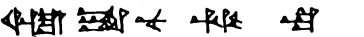
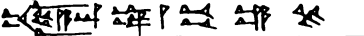

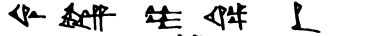
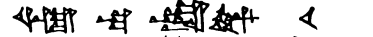




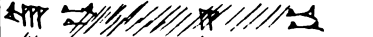




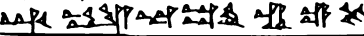


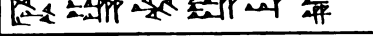
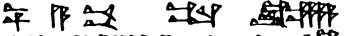
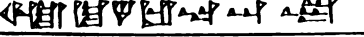
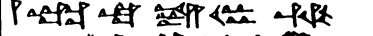
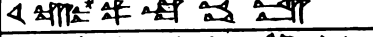

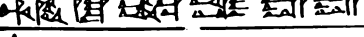

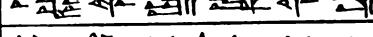
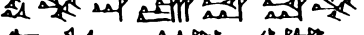
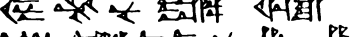
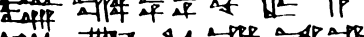

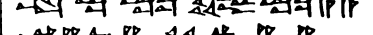
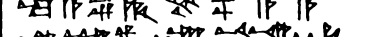
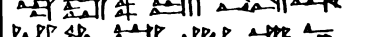
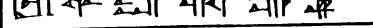


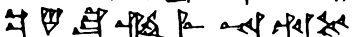
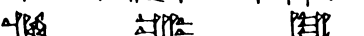
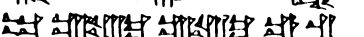

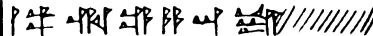

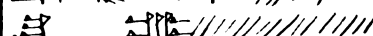
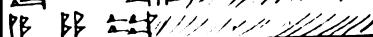

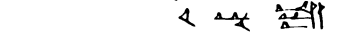
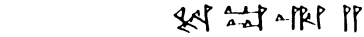
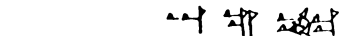



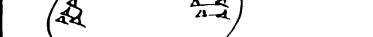


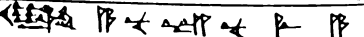



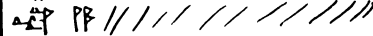

⁶⁶Cf. Ylvisaker, *Zur Babyl. und Assyrl. Grammatik*, p. 52.

K. 4347, Obv., Col. II



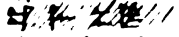










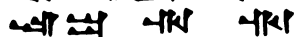


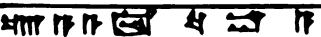
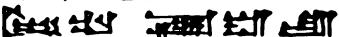





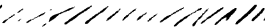




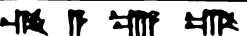
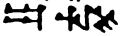

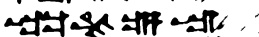
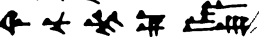





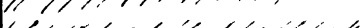







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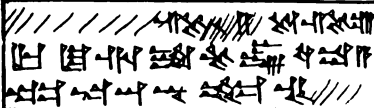
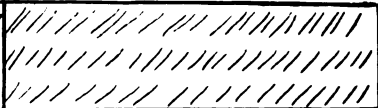
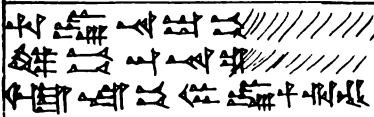
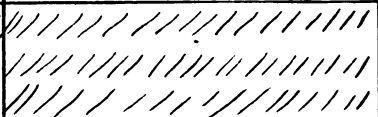
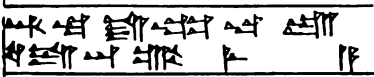
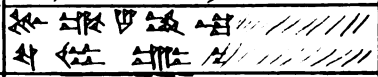
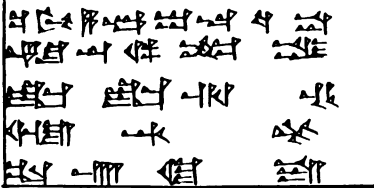
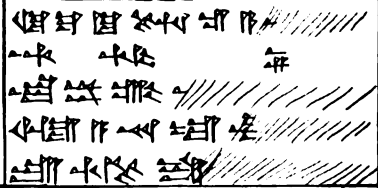
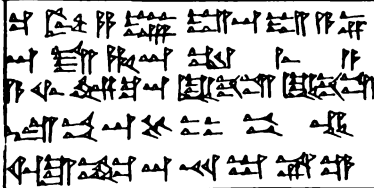
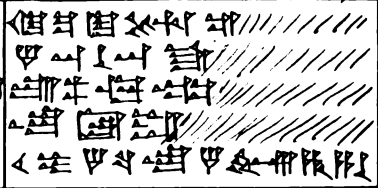
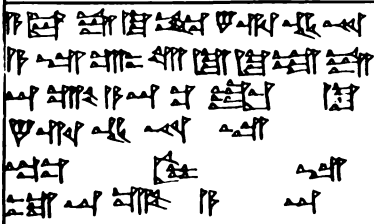
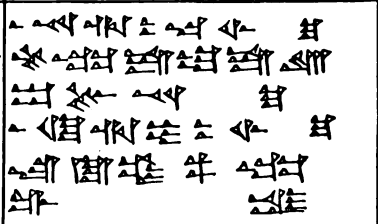
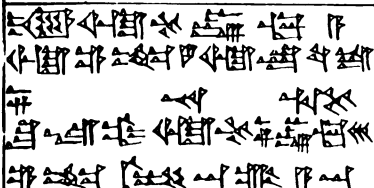
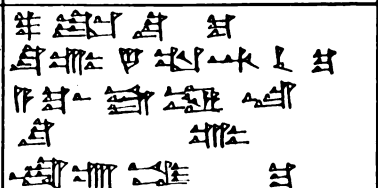
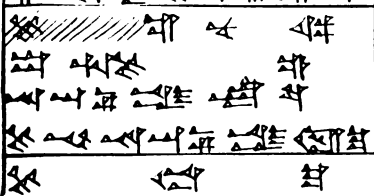
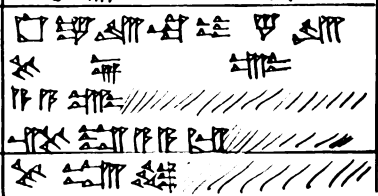
K. 4347, Obv., Col. III

	<p>   </p>	
<p>     </p>	<p>     </p>	5.
<p>     </p>	<p>     </p>	10.
<p>    </p>	<p>    </p>	
<p>    </p>	<p>    </p>	15.
<p>   </p>	<p>   </p>	20.
<p>   </p>	<p>   </p>	20.
<p>     </p>	<p>     </p>	
<p>      </p>	<p>      </p>	25.
<p>      </p>	<p>      </p>	30.
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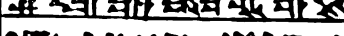
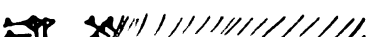
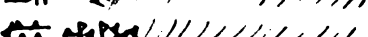
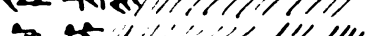


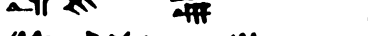

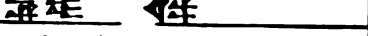









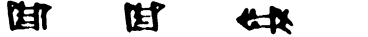





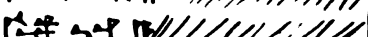


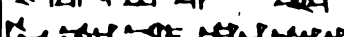
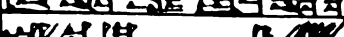

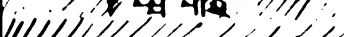

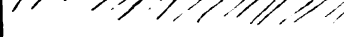

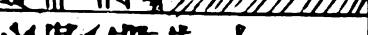
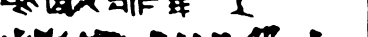




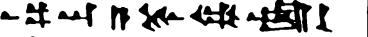









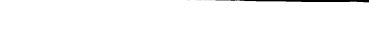




























K. 4347, Obv., Col. III—Continued

<p>        </p>	<p>   </p>	44.
<p>      </p>	<p>   </p>	45.
<p>       </p>	<p>   </p>	46.
<p>     </p>		47.
<p>      </p>	<p>              </p>	48.


















































































































































































































K. 4347, Rev., Col. IV

<p>  </p>	<p>  </p>	
<p>  </p>	<p>  </p>	5.
<p>  </p>	<p>  </p>	
<p>  </p>	<p>  </p>	10.
<p>  </p>	<p>  </p>	15.
<p>  </p>	<p>  </p>	20.
<p>  </p>	<p>  </p>	25.
<p>  </p>	<p>  </p>	30.

K. 4347, Rev., Col. IV—Continued

<p>         </p>	<p>         </p>	35
<p>         </p>	<p>         </p>	36
<p>         </p>	<p>         </p>	37
<p>         </p>	<p>         </p>	38
<p>         </p>	<p>         </p>	39
<p>    </p>	<p>    </p>	40

K. 4347, Rev., Col. V

5.		<p>    </p> <p>   </p> <p>   </p> <p>   </p>
10.	<p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p>	<p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p>
15.	<p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p>	<p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p>
20.	<p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p>	<p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p>
25.	<p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p>	<p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p>
30.	<p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p>	<p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p> <p>      </p>

K. 4347, Rev., Col. V—Continued



















35.		𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
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50.		𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
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55.		

Opposite lines 12-15 are traces of the ends of lines of Col. VI.

Line 57 is the end of the tablet.

Sm. Cl Rev.	
1	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a list of items or a short story.</p>
2	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
3	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
4	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
5	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
6	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
7	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
8	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
9	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
10	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
11	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
12	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
13	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
14	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
15	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
16	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
17	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
18	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
19	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>
20	<p>Handwritten text in Devanagari script.</p>

Bu. 80-7-19,130 Obv.

<p>    </p>	<p>  </p>
<p>    </p>	<p>     </p>
<p>    </p>	<p>     </p>

ZUR POLITIK UND KULTUR DER SARGONIDENZEIT
UNTERSUCHUNGEN AUF GRUND DER BRIEFTEXTE

VON ERNST GEORG KLAUBER

II

Als Fortsetzung der von Toffteen⁷⁰ (resp. Streck und Johns)⁷¹ gegebenen geographischen Namenslisten und der von Godbey⁷² und mir selbst⁷³ verfassten Berufsnamenverzeichnisse möge eine Uebersicht der geographischen Eigennamen (A) und der Berufsnamen (B) in den letzten Bänden des Briefcorpus folgen.⁷⁴

A.

- alIAHDIK:** alia-ah-di-ik [961] K. 1610, obv. 6, 14.
alUASI: alu-a-si [1079] Rm. 554, obv. 8. m[ät]u-a-si [1083] Rm. 978, rv. 7.
alADIA: ala-di-a [984] K. 1099, rv. 9.
amēlAHLAMU: amēlah-la-mu-ú [1013] K. 4525, rv. 3.
mātAKKADU: mātakkadu^{kl} [958] K. 1459, rv. 15; [960] K. 1580, rv. 11; [968] K. 4789, obv. 3; [1006] K. 2085, obv. 10; [1007] K. 3102, rv. 5; [1032] K. 8381, rv. 13; [1089] 48-7-20, 117, obv. 14; [1109] 83-1-18, 47, obv. 7; [1120] 83-1-18, 78, obv. 5; [1146] 83-1-18, 166, rv. 2; [1165] Bu. 89-4-26, 12, rv. 2. akkadu^{kl} [1134] 83-1-18, 130, obv. 11. alak-kad [1021] K. 4785, obv. 13. a-ga-dè^{kl} [1123] 83-1-18, 87, obv. 1, rv. 16.
alEKUŠA: amēl ale-ku-ša-a-a [920] K. 1621b, obv. 8.
mātUKKA: mātuk-ka-a-a [1035] K. 9212, rv. 10.
alALAMU: ala-la(?) -mu [891] K. 1079, obv. 5.
mātELAMTU: māt^{nim}-ma^{kl} [899] K. 844, obv. 12; [917] K. 1355, obv. 6, rv. 6; [918] K. 1542, obv. 2, 6; [961] K. 1610, rv. 5; [964] K. 2645, obv. 15; [965] K. 2889, rv. 5, 6, 9, 13; [997] K. 1524, obv. 7, 9, 10; [1000] K. 1550, rv. 7; [1006] K. 2085, obv. 7, 9, 12; [1010] K. 4303, obv. 3, 10, rv. 15; [1022] K. 4787, obv. 2; [1040] K. 13725, obv. 1; [1063] S. 1324, rv. 3; [1114] 83-1-18, 65, rv. 6, 7, 13, 15, 20; [1130] 83-1-18, 116, obv. 6; [1148] 83-1-18, 169, rv. 6; [1151] 83-1-18, 263,

⁷⁰ *AJSL*, XXI, 83 ff.

⁷¹ *AJSL*, XXII, 207 ff., und 228 ff.

⁷² *AJSL*, XXII, 65 ff., Johns, ebenda, 232 ff.

⁷³ *Beamtentum* 6 ff. (enthält die Berufsnamen aus Bd. IX).

⁷⁴ A enthält die Namen aus Bd. IX-XI, B aus X und XI.

- obv. 2; [1131] 83-1-18, 124, obv. 10. *māt*nim-[*ma ki*] [1010] K. 4303, obv. 2; [1040] K. 13725, obv. 3; [1114] 83-1-18, 65, obv. 3, 15. *māt*ni[m-*ma ki*] [917] K. 1355, obv. 16. *māt*nim-*ma* [*ki*] [965] K. 2889, rv. 2. *māt*nim-*ma-a-a* [1008] K. 4271, obv. 6; [1022] K. 4787, obv. 19. *amēl*nim-*ma**ki-a-a* [1127] 83-1-18, 100, obv. 12. *amēl*nim-*ma**ki* [1129] 83-1-18, 110, obv. 12. *amēl*nim-*ma-a-a* [1093] 82-2-4, 59, obv. 15. *māte*-*lam-a-a* [1008] K. 4271, obv. 8, 13.
- māt*ELLIPI: *māte*-*li-pi* [1046] S. 343, rv. 10.
- amēl*AMKANU: *amēl*am-*ka-nu-u-a* [1052] S. 501, obv. 7.
- al*AMPIHABI: *al*am-*pi-ha-bi* [1021] K. 4875, obv. 8.
- amēl*AMQA-AI: *am-qa-a-a* [1009] K. 4785, obv. 8.
- māt*AMURRU: *māt*mar-*tu ki* [1006] K. 2085, obv. 5.
- māt*ENNI-AI: *māte*-*ni-a-a* [890] K. 676, obv. 10.
- al*EPADU: *al*e-*pa-du* [1131] 83-1-18, 124, obv. 8.
- URU: *šeš-unu**ki* [887] K. 648, obv. 7; [942] 83-1-18, 71, obv. 10; [1000] K. 1550, obv. 17; [1006] K. 2085, obv. 6; [1095] 81-2-4, 76, obv. 6; [1108] 82-5-22, 166, obv. 15 (Dupl.); [1129] 83-1-18, 110, rv. 9, 15; [1130] 83-1-18, 116, obv. 3.
- al*URIAKA: *al*ur-*ia-ka* [1046] S. 343, rv. 3
- al*ARBAIL: *al*arba-*il* [889] K. 675, obv. 7; [923] K. 2701a, obv. 6, 18; [1092] 81-2-4, 56, obv. 6; [1098] 81-2-4, 127, rv. 7; [1107] 82-5-22, 150, obv. 7; [1166] Bu. 89-4-26, 43, obv. 6; [1168] Bu. 89-4-26, 158, obv. 4; [1171] Bu. 91-5-9, 11, obv. 8. [*al*]arba-*il* [1098] 81-2-4, 127, rv. 3. *al*[arba]-*il* [1097] 81-2-4, 122, rv. 7. *al*arba-*[il]* [982] K. 1084, obv. 3. arba-*il**ki* [992] K. 1281, obv. 6; [1110] 83-1-18, 55, obv. 6.
- ERIDU: *nun-ki* [942] 83-1-18, 71, obv. 10.
- al*URUK: *al*unu*ki* [965] K. 2889, obv. 7; [880] K. 473, obv. 5; [895] K. 772, obv. 8; [964] K. 2645, obv. 3, rv. 15; [997] K. 1524, obv. 5; [1028] K. 5461, obv. 2, 12, 15; [1056] S. 734, rv. 6; [1124] 83-1-18, 91, obv. 20; [1129] 83-1-18, 110, obv. 5, rv. 12. *unu* [*ki*] [1062] S. 1186, obv. 5. [*un*]u*ki* [1135] 83-1-18, 131, obv. 2; [*unu*] *ki* [964] K. 2645, obv. 2. *amēl*unu*ki-a-a* [965] K. 2889, obv. 10, rv. 11; [1106] 82-5-22, 131, rv. 9, 18. *unu ki a-a*, ebenda obv. 6, 10, 11, 13.
- māt*ARAMU: *māta-ra-mu* [1115] 83-1-18, 68, obv. 9. *amēl*a-*ra-me* [1013] K. 4525, obv. 7.
- al*ARRAPHA: *al*arap-*ha* [1042] S. 66, obv. 8, 12; [1059] S. 1066, obv. 12. *al*ār-*rap-ha* [1108] 82-5-22, 166, rv. 6. *al*arap-*ha-a-a* [1042] S. 66, obv. 10.
- māt*URARṬU: *amēl māturarṭa-a-a* [1079] Rm. 554, obv. 5.
- māt*ARAŠU: *al māta-ra-šu* [1007] K. 3102, rv. 19.
- al*AŠALLU: *al*a-*ṣal(ni)-li* [890] K. 676, obv. 6, rv. 11.

- māt ASSUR:** *mātassur^{ki}* [878] K. 233, obv. 13; [901] K. 926, obv. 6; [924] K. 3045, obv. 2; [926] K. 4447, obv. 2; [960] K. 1580, rv. 10; [997] K. 1524, rv. 5; [1010] K. 4303, obv. 7; [1013] K. 4525, rv. 2; [1022] K. 4787, obv. 9; [1024] K. 5333*b*, obv. 2; [1089] 48-7-20, 117, obv. 9, 11, 16; [1105] 82-5-22, 130, obv. 4, 10, 11, 18, 27, 28, 32, rv. 2; [1112] 83-1-18, 57, obv. 1; [1114] 83-1-18, 65, rv. 2, 10; [1168] Bu. 89-4-26, 158, obv. 10. *māt as[sur^{ki}]* [918] K. 1542, obv. 1. *mātassur* [997] K. 1524, rv. 8; [1002] K. 1588, rv. 4; [1021] K. 4785, obv. 17; [1117] 83-1-18, 74, obv. 9. *māt l¹asur(dug)^{ki}* [961] K. 1610, rv. 5; [972] 83-1-18, 59, obv. 7; [1151] 83-1-18, 263, obv. 1. *amēl¹assur^{ki}-a-a* [1000] K. 1550, rv. 13. *assur^{ki}-a-a* [1013] K. 4525, rv. 8. *amēl¹assur^{ki}-a-a*, ebenda, obv. 4. *a¹assur (šā-al)* [894] K. 685, rv. 1; [1086] Rm. 2, 12, obv. 6; [1133] 83-1-18, 128, obv. 12; [1149] 83-1-18, 170, obv. 4. *bal-til^{ki}* [895] K. 772, obv. 7.
- a¹ISITI:** *a¹i-si-ti* [916] K. 1287, obv. 6.
- a¹IAŠIAN:** *a¹ia-ši-an* [1000] K. 1550, obv. 13. *a¹i-ši-an*, ebenda, obv. 6.
- amēl¹ITU'AI:** *amēl¹i-tu-'-a* [962] K. 1881, obv. 11. *amēl¹i-tú-'-a-[a]* [903] K. 1071, rv. 2.
- BĀBILU:** *tin-tir^{ki}* [895] K. 772, obv. 8; [1016] K. 4682, obv. 1, 3, 6; [1047] S. 346, obv. 4, 6; [1067] S. 1915, obv. 10; [1102] 82-5-22, 116, obv. 9, rv. 5; [1106] 82-5-22, 131, obv. 5, 8, 18, rv. 5, 9; [1117] 83-1-18, 74, obv. 7, 11, 14; [1123] 83-1-18, 87, rv. 4; [1146] 83-1-18, 166, obv. 11. *a¹tin-tir^{ki}* [1091] 80-7-19, 28, obv. 2. *bāb-ili* [896] K. 832*b*, obv. 6; [967] K. 4776, obv. 6, 11. *bāb-ili^{ki}* [971] 83-1-18, 54, obv. 8, 12; [986] K. 1198, obv. 6; [1041] S. 30, obv. 10. *kā-dingir-ra^{ki}* [1066] S. 1910, rv. 3. *kā-dingir-ra^{k(1)}* [1011] K. 4305, obv. 4. *bāb-i-lī* [896] K. 832*b*, obv. 8, 18. *amēl¹tin-tir^{ki}* [878] K. 233, obv. 1, 19, rv. 6. *amēl¹tin-tir* [926] K. 4477, obv. 1. *amēl¹tin-tirmes* [954] K. 895, rv. 1; [965] K. 2889, obv. 5; [1106] 82-5-22, 131, obv. 20; *mārtin-tir* [961] K. 1610, rv. 7; *amēl¹mārētin-tir^{ki}* [1030] K. 5594, obv. 4.
- BĀB-MARRAT:** *bāb-mar-rat* [1000] K. 1550, rv. 15, 16.
- a¹BĀB-BITQI:** *a¹bab-bit-[qi]* [893] K. 8409, rv. 17.
- a¹BĒL-ILI:** *a¹bēl-ili* [890] K. 676, obv. 7.
- māt BARHALZA:** *māt bar-hal-za* [1086] Rm. 2, 12, obv. 4; [916] K. 1287, obv. 8, rv. 3; [1033] K. 8392, obv. 13.
- a¹BANANA:** *a¹ba-na-na* [1131] 83-1-18, 124, obv. 9. *amēl¹ba-na-nu* [1114] 83-1-18, 65, obv. 13.
- BA'RSIP:** *bar-sip^{ki}* [971] 83-1-18, 54, obv. 9; [895] K. 772, obv. 9; [1014] K. 4678, rv. 3; [1025] K. 5417*b*, obv. 4, rv. 1; [1076] Rm. 64, obv. 8.
- a¹BURNAKKA:** *a¹bu-ur-nak-ka* [1007] K. 3102, rv. 19.

- BIT-AMUKANI:** bit-a-mu-kan [896] K. 832b, rv. 7, 9. bit-ma-muk-a-nu [1135] 83-1-18, 131 obv. 8. bit-ma-muk-kan [896] K. 832b, rv. 16. bit-amē¹a-muk-a-ni, ebenda, rv. 2. amē¹bit-a-muk-a-ni, ebenda, obv. 17. amē¹bit-a-muk-a-na-a-a [945] 83-1-18, 96, obv. 3. ¹bit-e-muk-a-nu [1117] 83-1-18, 74, rv. 12, 14.
- BIT-IAKIN:** bit-mia-a-ki-ni [1131] 83-1-18, 124, obv. 3, 11. bit-m[i]a-ki-ni, ebenda, obv. 7.
- alBIT-IMBIA:** ^{al} bit-im-bi-i [1063] S. 1324, rv. 4.
- BIT-DAKURU:** bit-mda-ku-ru [886] K. 605, obv. 14.
- BIT-HAIR:** ^{al}bit-ha-ir [1093] 81-2-4, 59, obv. 6, rv. 15, 24.
- alBITANNU:** ^{al}bit-an-nu [1044] S. 117, rv. 7.
- alBIT-SINIBNI:** ^{al}bit-¹¹sin-ib-ni [1093] 81-2-4, 59, obv. 7.
- alGUZANA:** ^{al}gu-za-na [966] K. 4724, obv. 10.
- amē¹GAMBULA-AI:** amē¹gam-bu-la-a-a [915] K. 1269, obv. 2.
- amē¹GIMIRRA-AI:** amē¹gi-mir-ra-a-a [1026] K. 5425a, obv. 8,⁷⁵ 11; [1161] 83-1-18, 283, obv. 8; [1168] Bu. 89-4-26, 158, obv. 8.
- amē¹GURUMA-AI:** amē¹gu-ru-ma-a-a [967] K. 4776, obv. 8, 19.
- mātGURASIMMU⁷⁶** mātgu-ra-sim-ma [947] 83-1-18, 105, obv. 3, rv. 6. mātgu-ra-sim-mu [1089] 48-7-20, 117, obv. 14. amē¹gur-ra-sim-mu [942] 83-1-18, 71, obv. 7. amē¹gu-ra-sim-ma-a-a [1000] K. 1550, obv. 16; [1028] K. 5461, obv. 19.
- amē¹DAMMAQUTE:** amē¹dam-ma-qu-te [1009] K. 4286, obv. 11.
- alDIRU:** ^{al}di-ri [1063] S. 1324, obv. 8, rv. 7; [1093] 81-2-4, 59, obv. 4; [1127] 83-1-18, 100, obv. 8; [1148] 83-1-18, 169, obv. 13.
- DÜR-ŠA-IAKINI:** dūr-ša-mia-ki-ni [899] K. 844, rv. 9.
- alDÜR-ENLIL:** ^{al}dur-¹¹en-lil [963] K. 1895, obv. 5.
- alDÜR-SIN-AHHE-ERIBA:** ^{al}dur-msin-ahhē-eriba [1009] K. 4286, rv. 24.
- alDÜR-ŠARRUKIN:** ^{al}dur-šarru-gi-na^{kl} [1065] S. 1534, obv. 3, 9. [^{al}du]r-šarru-gi-na [990] K. 1257, obv. 9. ^{al}dur-šarru-gi [890] K. 676, obv. 4. ^{al}dur-šarru-gin [1017] K. 4691, obv. 15. ^{al}dur-mšarru-gi[n] [989] K. 1253, obv. 3. ^{al}dur-šar-uk-ki [1024] K. 5333b, obv. 10. ^{al}d[ur]-ru-uk-ki [960] K. 1580, rv. 3. amē¹dur-šar-ru-ka-a-a [1014] K. 4678, rv. 9.
- amē¹DU(?)TA-AI:** amē¹du(kin)-ta-a-a [1114] 83-1-18, 65, obv. 12.
- mātHABAN:** māt^hha-ban [884] K. 510, rv. 11.
- mātHUBUŠKIA:** māt^hhu-bu-uš-ki-a [1079] Rm. 554, rv. 7. māt^hhu-raš-ka-a-a [1083] Rm. 978, rv. 3. māt^h[u]-raš-ka-a-a[], ebenda, rv. 8. [māt^hhu-raš]-ka-a-a [1043] S. 96, obv. 1 (?).
- alHIDALU:** ^{al}hi-da-lu [961] K. 1610, obv. 5, 13.

⁷⁵ In [1043] S. 96 sind gegen Cat. 1380 sind die Gimiräer nicht erwähnt.

⁷⁶ Zur Lesung vgl. Bezdol lat. Vol. V. Index u. Streck, *AJSL*, XXII, 212, *MVAO* XI, 223^a.

- mātHILAKU: hi-lak-a-a [1009] K. 4286, rv. 2.
 a¹HILIM: a¹hi-li-im [1007] K. 3102, rv. 21. amē¹hi-li-im [1000] K. 1550, obv. 6, 13, rv. 8.
 amē¹HINDAR-AI: hi-in-dar-a-a [1009] K. 4286, obv. 13, rv. 10, 11.
 a¹HUPAPANU: a¹hu-pa-pa-a-nu [1000] K. 1550, rv. 14.
 a¹HARRĀN: a¹harrān [923] K. 2701a, obv. 11.
 a¹HARRANIA: a¹har-ra-ni-a [890] K. 676, rv. 1, 4, 6.
 amē¹HATA-AI: amē¹ha-ta-a-a [1082] Rm. 564, obv. 3.
 amē¹KIBRITA-AI: kib-ri-ta-a-a [1009] K. 4286, obv. 12.
 amē¹KADGUHU: amē¹kad-gu-hu [1000] K. 1550, obv. 13.
 a¹KAKZU: a¹kak-zu [1009] K. 4286, rv. 23.
 a¹KILIZU: a¹ki-li-zi [1037] K. 13073, obv. 3.
 amē¹KALDA-AI: amē¹kal-da-a-a [1011] K. 4305, rv. 5.
 amē¹KALDANU: amē¹kal-da-a-nu [917] K. 1355, rv. 4; [1114] 83-1-18, 65, rv. 16.
 a¹KALHA: a¹kal-ha [885] K. 521, obv. 18; [1004] K. 1963, obv. 5; [1097] 81-2-4, 122, rv. 5; [1103] 82-5-22, 117, rv. 3. a¹ka-lah [1072] Rm. 54, rv. 4. a¹kāl-ha [950] 83-1-18, 155, rv. 4. kal-ha-a-a [1153] 83-1-18, 273, obv. 11.
 a¹KULUMAN-AI: a¹ku-lu-man-a-a [1046] S. 343, obv. 8.
 mātKARDUNIAŠ: mātkar-du-ni-ia-aš [924] K. 3045, obv. 4.
 a¹KAR-ŠARRUKIN: a¹kar-mšarru-gin [1045] S. 167, obv. 4.
 mātKUSA-AI: mātku-sa-a-a [1141] 83-1-18, 157, rv. 2; [1159] 83-1-18, 281, rv. 6. ku-sa-a-a [973] 83-1-18, 97, obv. 5, 7.
 a¹KISIG: a¹ki-sig [1106] 82-5-22, 131, obv. 22. a¹ki-sig-a-a [1121] 83-1-18, 84, obv. 1. amē¹ki-sig-a-[a] [1000] K. 1550, obv. 19.
 amē¹KUŠITA-AI: ku-ši-ta-a-a [1009] K. 4286, obv. 10.
 KUTA: tig-gab-a^{ki} [1117] 83-1-18, 74, obv. 9. tig-gab-a^{ak} [1071] Rm. 49, obv. 6, 7. tig-g[ab-a^{ki}], ebenda, rv. 3, 4. amē¹tig-gab-a^{ki}-meš [944] 83-1-18, 85, obv. 4, 8.
 a¹LABDUDA-AI: lab-du-da-a-a [1009] K. 4286, rv. 7, 8, 9.
 a¹LABBANAT: a¹la-ab-ban-at [1102] 82-5-22, 116, rv. 5.
 amē¹LAKABRU: amē¹la-kab-ru [1000] K. 1550, obv. 7, 14.
 a¹LAHIRU: a¹la-hi-ri [1108] 82-5-22, 166, rv. 5.
 mātMUZAŠIR: mātmu-za-šir [1083] Rm. 978, rv. 7, 12.
 a¹MALAK-AI: a¹ma-lak-a-a [1063] S. 1324, obv. 14.
 a¹MALIKU: a¹ma-li-ku [1063] S. 1324, obv. 11. a¹ma-li-ki, ebenda, rv. 6.
 a¹MILKIA: a¹me-il-ki-a [1164] Bu. 89-4-26, 6, obv. 2.
 a¹MINU': a¹mi-nu-'u [883] K. 500, rv. 2, 12.⁷
 mātMANNU: mātman-nu-a-a [1109] 83-1-18, 47, rv. 9.

⁷Zur Lesung des Namens beachte rv. 1 f.: ūmu Xīkam lštu lib a¹mi-nu 'u ut-tam-me-šu (II₂ v. namāšu aufbrechen). rv. 12 ist daher kaum tū nach a¹mi-nu-'u (so H.) zu ergänzen.

- alMINDA:** ^alme-in-da-a-[a] [1161] 83-1-18, 283, rv. 1.
amēlMAQAMARAI: ma-qa-mar⁷⁸-a-a [1009] K. 4286, rv. 5.
amēlMARTENAI: mar-te-en-a-a [1009] K. 4286, rv. 12.
MARAD: ṣur-da^{ki} [898] K. 8301, obv. 3. ṣur-da^{k[1]} [1155] 83-1-18, 277, obv. 6, 9.
mātMARQASI: mātmar-qa-si [966] K. 4724, obv. 7.
nārMARRAT: nārmar-rat [1136] 83-1-18, 133, obv. 8.
mātMASI: mātma-a-si(?) [953] K. 892, obv. 4.
mātMUŠUR: mātmu-ṣur [923] K. 2701a, obv. 15. mātmu-ṣur-a-a [1143] 83-1-18, 159, obv. 6.
alMUŠI: almu-ši [891] K. 1079, obv. 7.
amēlMATA-AI: amēlma-ta-a-a [1008] K. 4271, obv. 3.
MĀT-TAMTIM: māt-tam-tim [920] K. 1621b, obv. 7; [942] 83-1-18, 71, obv. 8; [947] 83-1-18, 105, rv. 7; [1029] K. 5550+5641, obv. 16; [1106] 82-5-22, 131, rv. 13, 20; [1114] 83-1-18, 65, rv. 9; [1135] 83-1-18, 131, obv. 10.
amēlNABATU: amēlna-ba-a-tu-ú-a [1117] 83-1-18, 74, obv. 7.
mātNAHAL: mātna-hal [1114] 83-1-18, 65, obv. 12; amēlnahal, ebenda, rv. 5.
amēlNEKUR: amēlne-kur [1000] K. 1550, obv. 6, 13, rv. 8.
alNINUA: alninua^{ki} [1097] 81-2-4, 122, rv. 3; [1107] 82-5-22, 150, obv. 6. alninua [973] 83-1-18, 97, obv. 6; [979] K. 1063, obv. 6; [1058] S. 935, obv. 15; [1103] 82-5-22, 117, obv. 8; [1107] 82-5-22, 150, obv. 6; [1168] Bu. 89-4-26, 158, obv. 7; [1171] Bu. 91-5-9, 11, obv. 7. ninua^{ki} [923] K. 2701a, obv. 6, 18; [960] K. 1580, obv. 6; [992] K. 1281, obv. 5; [1092] 81-2-4, 56, obv. 6; [1110] 83-1-18, 55, obv. 5; [1133] 83-1-18, 128, obv. 1; [1147] 83-1-18, 168, obv. 2. alni-nu-a [1080] Rm. 556, rv. 7; [1098] 81-2-4, 127, obv. 6. alni-nu-[a] [889] K. 675, obv. 6; [1004] K. 1963, obv. 8.
NIPPUR: en-lil^{ki} [895] K. 772, obv. 8; [960] K. 1580, rv. 8; [1074] Rm. 60, obv. 6, rv. 4, 5; [1115] 83-1-18, 68, obv. 10; e[n?]-lil^{ki} [942] 83-1-18, 71, obv. 10.
alNURA-AI: alnu-ra-a-a [1083] Rm. 978, rv. 5.
alPADĀNU: alpa-da-a-ni [1072] Rm. 54, obv. 8.
mātPUQUDU: mātbu-qu-du [947] 83-1-18, 105, rv. 5; [1089] 48-7-20, 117, obv. 13. amēlbu-qu-da-a-a [887] K. 648, obv. 14; [1052] S. 501, obv. 3. amēlbu-q[u-da-a-a] [887] K. 648, obv. 12. bu-qud-a-a [1009] K. 4286, rv. 14. amēlbu-qud-di [896] K. 832b, obv. 16. amēlbu-qu-du [1028] K. 5461, obv. 1, rv. 4, 12. amēlpiqu-du [942] 83-1-18, 71, obv. 7.
alPILLAT: alpi-il-la-at [1007] K. 3102, rv. 21. alpil-la-tum [964] K. 2645, obv. 15.
alQAPATA-AI: alqa-pa-ta-a-a [980] K. 1073, obv. 4.

⁷⁸ So die Ausgabe H's.

- RAHIQU: ra-hi-qu-a-a [1009] K. 4286, rv. 13.
 alRIMUSU; alri-mu-si [1023] K. 5213b, obv. 8. alri-mu-s[i] [1171]
 Bu. 91-5-9, 11, obv. 16.
 amēlRAŠA-AI: amēl māt ra-ša-a-a [1022] K. 4787, obv. 8.
 mātSUBARTUM: māt su-edin^{ki} [1006] K. 2085, obv. 12. su-bar-
 tum, ebenda, obv. 10.
 amēlSAMIRNA-AI: sa-mir-na-a-a [1009] K. 4286, rv. 3, 4.
 SIPPAR: ud-kib-nun^[ki] [1003] K. 1880, obv. 3. [ud-ki]b-nun^{ki},
 ebenda, rv. 12. ud-kib-n[un^{ki}] [1117] 83-1-18, 74, rv. 8.
 alSATTENNA: amēl alsa-at-te-na-a-a [942] 83-1-18, 71, obv. 2.
 alŠIMIRRA: alši-mir-ra-a-a [992] K. 1281, obv. 25.
 mātŠUPRIA: amēl mātšup-ri-a-a [987] K. 1211, obv. 4.
 alŠURMIRRATE: alšur-mir-ra-te [944] 83-1-18, 85, obv. 5.
 amēlTABALAI: amēl ta-bal-a-a [967] K. 4776, obv. 3.
 nārTUBULIAŠ: nār tu-bu-li-'-aš [1112] 83-1-18, 57, obv. 4.
 amēlTU'MANU: amēl tu-'-ma-na [1041] S. 30, rv. 6.⁷⁹
 alTARBISI: altar-bi-si [885] K. 521, obv. 4.
 alTARBUSIBI: altar-bu-si-bi [1045] S. 167, rv. 3.
 amēlTARGIMATA: amēl tar-gi-ma(?) -ta [1114] 83-1-18, 65, obv.
 11, rv. 3.⁸⁰
 nārTURNU: nār tur-nu [1041] S. 30, rv. 5.

Es folgt eine Reihe von Stellen, wo die Eigennamen entweder verstümmelt sind, oder der Zusammenhang nicht mit Sicherheit erkennen lässt, ob ein Eigenname überhaupt vorliegt.

- al a . . . [951] K. 189, obv. 7.
 a-is^{ki} [1123] 83-1-18, 87, rv. 6, 8.
 albit-(?) -nu-u-ni [884] K. 510, obv. 10.
 aldi-nu . . . [1154] 83-1-18, 276, rv. 4.
 alga-ār . . . [1044] S. 117, obv. 4. (gargamis?)
 alga-bi-e [1044] S. 117, obv. 10.
 alhi-bi-u-ni [891] K. 1079, obv. 6.
 alku-ub-da-ab-ti [1042] S. 66, rv. 1.
 amēl kil-bu-an . . . [1002] K. 1588, obv. 13.
 māt kal . . . [1030] K. 5594, obv. 2.
 alkar-īlⁿⁱ [n . .] [1009] K. 4286, rv. 23.
 māt mu-uš . . [1048] S. 358, obv. 4.
 almu-ti-an-ni [1085] Rm. 2, 11, obv. 6.
 amēl ni- . -la [1041] S. 30, rv. 7.
 amēl pa-si[g] [1074] Rm. 60, obv. 1.
 alqa-ri . . . [1044] S. 117, obv. 10.
 amēl si-la-aš . . . [1024] K. 5333b, obv. 5.

⁷⁹ Vgl. Streck, *MVA G*, XI, 241, No. 84.

⁸⁰ Vgl. oben S. 104^e.

al¹sa-am(?) -mu [884] K. 510, obv. 11.
 al¹si-bu-tu [1034] K. 8530, obv. 7, 12.
 al¹tar-b[a . . .] [930] K. 5607, obv. 9.

B.

amēl¹ABA: amēl¹a-ba [1084] Rm. 2, 9, obv. 8. amēl¹[a]-ba-me[š]
 [1037] K. 13073, obv. 3. amēl¹a-ba-tù [1096] 81-2-4, 98, obv. 12.
 amēl¹ABARAKKU: amēl¹ši-um [1038] K. 13095, obv. 3; [1108] 82-5-
 22, 166, rv. 9.
 amēl¹AZU: amēl¹a-zu [1133] 83-1-18, 128, rv. 13.
 amēl¹UMMĀNU: amēl¹um-ma-a-ni [975] K. 832a, rv. 14; [1065] S.
 1534, obv. 14.
 amēl¹UNZARHU¹: amēl¹un-za-ra-ah [1074] Rm. 60, rv. 18.
 amēl¹URLIŠĀNU: amēl¹ur-li-ša-nu [1090] 80-7-19, 27, obv. 13;
 [1109] 83-1-18, 47, rv. 14.
 amēl¹BĒL-ALI: amēl¹bēl-ali [1046] S. 343, rv. 3; [1072] Rm. 54, rv. 7.
 amēl¹BĒL-PAHĀTI: amēl¹en-nam [989] K. 1253, obv. 3; [997] K.
 1524, obv. 14, rv. 6; [1007] K. 3102, rv. 22; [1038] K. 13095, obv. 3, 6;
 [1052] S. 501, obv. 6; [1059] S. 1066, obv. 11; [1067] S. 1915, obv. 7,
 rv. 2; [1068] S. 1933, obv. 7; [1083] Rm. 978, rv. 6; [1079] Rm. 554,
 obv. 8; [1093] 81-2-4, 59, obv. 1, rv. 1, 6, 13; [1106] 82-5-22, 131, obv.
 12, rv. 8; [1108] 82-5-22, 166 (Dupl.), rv. 5, 6; [1119] 83-1-18, 77, rv.
 13; [1124] 83-1-18, 91, obv. 6. amēl¹en-nam-meš [1048] S. 358,
 obv. 5. amēl¹nam [1108] 82-5-22, 166, obv. 10. amēl¹nam-meš,
 ebenda, obv. 4.
 amēl¹BĒL-PIQITTI: amēl¹bēl-pi-ḳit-ti [1100] 81-2-4, 509, obv. 5;
 [1105] 82-5-22, 130, obv. 14.
 amēl¹BĒL-SAR: amēl¹bēl-sar [1104] 82-5-22, 119, obv. 5.
 amēl¹BI.LUB: amēl¹bi-lub [984] K. 1099, obv. 2; [1073] Rm. 58, obv. 5.
 amēl¹BARENNU: amēl¹bar-en-ni [1020] K. 4779, obv. 3. amēl¹bar-
 en-na, ebenda, obv. 1, rv. 8.
 amēl¹GALLU: amēl¹gal-la [1169] Bu. 89-4-26, 310, obv. 8, 11.
 amēl¹DAIALU: amēl¹da-a-a-li [1043] S. 96, obv. 6. amēl¹dā-a-a-l[i],
 ebenda, obv. 10. amēl¹da-a-a-ali(eri) [1083] Rm. 978, rv. 4.
 amēl¹DAMQARU: amēl¹dam-ḳar [1058] S. 935, rv. 9. amēl¹dam-
 ḳar-meš [992] K. 1281, rv. 9.
 amēl¹HAZANNU: amēl¹ha-za-an-ni [1034] K. 8530, obv. 11.
 amēl¹MANZAZU: amēl¹man-za-za pa-ni [992] K. 1281, rv. 7.
 amēl¹ma-za-az pa-ni-š[u] [1042] S. 66, rv. 10.
 amēl¹MĀR-ŠIPRI: amēl¹a-qi [1044] S. 117, rv. 19; [1105] 82-5-22,
 130, obv. 6, 36; [1106] 82-5-22, 131, rv. 11; [1114] 83-1-18, 65, obv. 3,
 8, 14, rv. 11; [1125] 83-1-18, 92, obv. 8; [1128] 83-1-18, 108, obv. 7;
 [1130] 83-1-18, 116, obv. 8; [1136] 83-1-18, 133, rv. 4. amēl¹a-q[i]

¹ Vgl. [317] K. 5291, obv. 5 u. Johns, *ADD*, III, 220.

- [1044] S. 117, obv. 8. *amēl*a-[qi] [1011] K. 4305, rv. 10; [1114] 83-1-18, 65, obv. 5, 9. *amēl*a-qimeš [1041] S. 30, rv. 6, 10; [1052] S. 501, obv. 4. *amēl*a-šip-ri [1063] S. 1324, obv. 20; [1131] 83-1-18, 124, obv. 10. [*amēl*]a-šip-ri [995] K. 1411, obv. 6. *amēl*tur-šip-ri [1029] K. 5500+5614, rv. 1. *amēl*(!) šip-ri [1115] 83-1-18, 68, obv. 8.
- amēl*MAŠMAŠU: *amēl*maš-maš [1126] 83-1-18, 95, obv. 17; [1133] 83-1-18, 128, rv. 11.
- amēl*MUŠARKISU: [*amēl*]mu-šar-ki-sa-a-ni [1036] K. 12996, obv. 2. *amēl*mu-šar-[ki-su] [1012] K. 4306, rv. 3.
- amēl*MUTĪR-PŪTI: *amēl*gur-bu-ti [1123] 83-1-18, 87, obv. 14, rv. 11. *amēl*gur-bu-ti [1055] S. 562, obv. 9. [*amēl*gur]-bu-te [1012] K. 4306, rv. 10.
- amēl*NAGIRU: *amēl*lagar [1063] S. 1324, obv. 13. *amēl*ner-è-gal [984] K. 1099, obv. 6, 10; [1079] Rm. 544, rv. 7. *amēl*šanu-ú ša *amēl*ner-è-gal, ebenda, obv. 3.
- amēl*NARKABTI: *amēl*l₃ narkabti è-gal [1038] K. 13095, obv. 2. *amēl*narkabāte meš [1070] Rm. 47, obv. 5.
- amēl*NASIKU: *amēl*na-si-ku [1109] 83-1-18, 47, rv. 7, 8. *amēl*na-si-ka-a-ni [1065] S. 1534, obv. 5, 12. *amēl*na-si-ka-tu [1109] 83-1-18, 47, rv. 8. *amēl*na-si-ka-ti [1112] 83-1-18, 57, obv. 3.
- amēl*NĀŠ-PĀTRI: *amēl*gir-lal [1106] 82-5-22, 131, rv. 6.
- amēl*PAHHARU: *amēl*duk-qa-burmeš [1065] S. 1534, obv. 6, rv. 8.
- amēl*QĒPU: *amēl*qi-e-pi [1115] 83-1-18, 68, obv. 9.
- amēl*RABŪTI: *amēl*galmeš [1002] K. 1588, obv. 12; [1013] K. 4525, rv. 2; [1046] S. 343, rv. 4, 7; [1101] 82-5-22, 100, obv. 10; [1106] 82-5-22, 131, rv. 11; [1112] 83-1-18, 57, obv. 1; [1117] 83-1-18, 74, rv. 4; [1123] 83-1-18, 87, rv. 5; [1163] 83-1-18, 403, obv. 1.
- amēl*RAB-ĒKALLI: *amēl*rab-è-gal [1047] S. 346, rv. 7.
- amēl*RAB-ALI: *amēl*rab-alānini [1008] K. 4271, rv. 8.
- amēl*RAB-URASI: *amēl*rab-u-r[a-si] [1068] S. 1933, obv. 6.
- amēl*RAB-EŠIRTE: *amēl*rab-e[širt]e^{(t)le} [982] K. 1084, obv. 2.
- amēl*RAB-BĪTI: *amēl*rab-bīti [1042] S. 66, obv. 7; [1078] Rm. 382, obv. 7.
- amēl*RAB-HIALI: *amēl*rab-hi-ia-li [1028] K. 5461, obv. 7.
- amēl*RAB-KALLAPANI: *amēl*rab-kal-la-pa-ni [1104] 82-5-22, 119, obv. 4.
- amēl*RAB-KĀRI: [*amēl*]rab-ka-a-ri [1106] 82-5-22, 131, rv. 20.
- amēl*RAB-KIŠIR: *amēl*rab-ki-šir [1108] 82-5-22, 166, rv. 16. *amēl*rab-ki-širmeš [1109] 83-1-18, 47, rv. 15.
- amēl*RAB-NUHATIMME: *amēl*rab-mu [1084] Rm. 2, 9, obv. 7.
- amēl*RAB-RĒŠI: *amēl*rab-sak [1109] 83-1-18, 47, rv. 9, 13; [1116] 83-1-18, 70, obv. 6. *amēl*rab-sakmeš [1109] 83-1-18, 47, rv. 11.
- amēl*RĒ'U: *amēl*šib-lid-gud-zun [1111] 83-1-18, 56, rv. 7.
- amēl*RAKSU: *amēl*rak-su [1009] K. 4286, rv. 17.

- amēl REŠU: amēl¹sak [1058] S. 935, rv. 2. amēl¹sak meš [1139] 83-1-18, 148, obv. 7.
- amēl SUKALLU: amēl¹uh [1025] K. 5417b, obv. 6; [1052] S. 501, obv. 6, 11, 12, rv. 7, 10, 12; [1081] Rm. 557, 14, rv. 8.
- amēl ŠA-BITHALLI: amēl¹ša-bit-hal-[li] [1073] Rm. 58, obv. 7. [amēl¹ša-bit-hal-a-te [1079] Rm. 554, rv. 3. amēl¹bit-hal-li-a-ti [1063] S. 1324, obv. 10.
- amēl ŠA-ZIQNI: amēl¹ša ziq-[ni] [1139] 83-1-18, 148, obv. 7.
- amēl ŠA-MUH-ALI: amēl¹ša-muh-ali [1034] K. 8530, obv. 10.
- amēl ŠA.KU (šakin ṭēmi):⁸² amēl¹ša-ku [1076] Rm. 64, rv. 2; [1136] 83-1-18, 133, rv. 3.
- amēl ŠANŪ: amēl¹šane-e-kar-me [1070] Rm. 47, obv. 16.
- amēl ŠANGU: amēl¹šit [1014] K. 4678, rv. 3, 4, 10.
- amēl SARTINNU: [amēl¹][s]ar-tin-nu [1038] K. 13095, obv. 1.
- amēl ŠATAMMU: amēl¹šā-tam [1000] K. 1500 (edge); [1016] K. 4682, rv. 7. amēl¹šā-tam-ú-ti, ebenda, obv. 6, 8, 11.
- amēl TURTANU: amēl¹tur-ta-nu [1073] Rm. 58, obv. 19. [amēl¹] tur-ta-nu [1122] 83-1-18, 86, obv. 12.

Es folgt eine Reihe unsicherer Bezeichnungen:

- amēl a-sig (?) -na [1128] 83-1-18, 108, obv. 13
- amēl bēl. . [988] K. 1231, obv. 4.
- amēl ha-ba(?) [1106] 82-5-22, 131, rv. 17.
- amēl¹ . -za-az-su (erg. ma?) [1106] 82-5-22, 131, obv. 15.
- amēl rab . . . [1112] 83-1-18, 57, obv. 10.
- rab-bit na . . [1009] K. 4286, rv. 17.
- amēl(?)ri-e-a [1125] 83-1-18, 92, rv. 1.
- amēl ri e ki . . . [1000] K. 1550, rv. 1.
- amēl še . . ša šarri [1146] 83-1-18, 166, rv. 1.
- amēl ša pān . . [1125] 83-1-18, 92, obv. 1.
- amēl šanu-ú ša . . . [1067] S. 1915, obv. 6.
- amēl sar-ku [998] K. 1541, rv. 3.

NACHTRAG

Zur Lesung mtú-um-man [576] K. 1009, obv. 8 vgl. jetzt auch Ungnad, *ZDMG* LXV (1911), 607.

S. 104 Z. 11 v. o. ist nach den Spuren vielleicht besser amēl¹ba-a[n]a-nu zu lesen. Z. 15 v. o. lies ḫi-ba-a.

S. 117 Z. 4 v. o. nach Virolleaud, *Adad* XI. 16 ergänze S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts*, 20 f. (Hunger, *Tieromina*, 168).

S. 117 Anm. 38, zu K. 106 vgl. Virolleaud, *Babyloniaca* IV, 101 ff.

S. 123 Z. 4 v. u. lies ima qatu.

S. 132 Z. 7 v. o. lies 679, obv. 8; Z. 10 v. o. lies kādu u. vgl. Figulla, *MVAG* XVII (1912), 32.

S. 133 Z. 1. v. o. lies sīqu.

⁸² Vgl. Ungnad, *ZDMG*, XLV (1911), 607.

WHERE WAS EDEN?

BY EDWARD ROBERTSON

The site of Eden still awaits identification. The garden has been fruitful of much speculation, and its four rivers have occasioned much searching geographical inquiry. Eden has been located by critics in Armenia; in Babylonia (both near the city of Babylon and near Abu Shahrein [ancient Eridul]); in Arabia (S., E., N.W., and N.); in the Palestinian Negeb; near Damascus; near Kashmir; near the Altai Mountains; on the mountains above Pamir; in Somaliland. Even Australia and the North Pole have their advocates.¹ By the "astral school" of Babylonian scholars, it is contended that Eden must be sought in the starry heavens. The river that "went forth from Eden" is the Milky Way, and through their own telescopes they observe it branching into four. No site yet suggested, however, nor theory propounded has met with general acceptance and many critics in despair are looking to comparative mythology for fresh light on the problem. The present writer does not expect to be more successful than the more capable critics who have preceded him, but since the view he here presents appears to him to offer a possible solution of the difficulties he ventures to submit it to the judgment of scholars.

Assuming for the moment that the story of the Garden of Eden [Gen. 2:8—3:24] is the work of one hand and has come down to us in an inviolate text, there are four references, or passages, in the narrative indicative of site:² (1) eastward (מִקְדָּם) [2:8a],³ (2) the

¹ Particulars and criticisms of these various theories may be found in the more recent commentaries on Genesis, especially those of Driver (1904), and Skinner (1910). Compare also Delitzsch *Wo lag das Paradies?* (1881), pp. 11 ff., Sayce in Hastings' *D.B.*, s.v. "Garden of Eden," and Cheyne in *En. B.*, s.v. "Paradise."

² Some critics would find other indirect references in the garments of fig leaves (3:7) and in the "cool of the day" (lit. "wind of the day" or evening breeze [רוּחַ הַיּוֹם]) (3:8) to indicate that Eden was situated in a warm zone. But such reflections might be due to a writer ignorant of great climatic

name Eden, (3) the passage relating to the river of Eden, its four branches and the associated lands [2:10-14], (4) the final extrusion and exclusion of the man from the garden [3:23-24]. Of these the first and third appear to locate the garden on the earth. The second points to no solution since no suitable corresponding place-name has yet been brought into connection with the name Eden.⁴ The fourth, again, encourages strongly the view that the "garden" is not on earth at all, since it is a place whence man was driven, presumably for all time.

differences who imagined the whole world possessed of a climate the same as that in which he lived. Against the fig-leaf aprons may be set the "coats of skins" (3:21).

³ מִקְדָּם—a somewhat elusive word as to meaning. In general it seems to denote "eastward," or "on the east side" (cf. Gen. 11:2; 12:8; 13:11, all passages assigned by scholars to the same hand (J) as Gen. 2:4b-3:24). The meaning of מִקְדָּם in Gen. 3:24 is not very clear. In Gen. 2:8 the LXX has κατ(ὰ) ἀνατολὰς [Josephus *Ant.* I. i—πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν]. The Vulgate, on the other hand, has a *principio*, "from aforetime," the sense in which מִקְדָּם is most frequently used in the Psalms and prophetic writings.

⁴ Eden—apparently not to be confused with the place-name עֵדֶן to which references are made in II Kings 19:12 ||¹ Isa. 37:12; Ezek. 27:23; Amos 1:5 [cf. W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 291]. In II Kings 19:12 (||¹ Isa. 37:12) the עֵדֶן בְּנֵי עֵדֶן are mentioned as in Telassar. According to Delitzsch, *Paradies*, pp. 3 ff., 262 ff., the עֵדֶן here, as well as in Ezek. 27:23 (עֵדֶן) and Amos 1:5 (בֵּית עֵדֶן), must be identified with the Babylonian *Bīt-Adini*. The בֵּית עֵדֶן of Amos 1:5 has been looked for elsewhere. According to E. Robinson, *Bib. Res.*, III, p. 556, it is *Paradisus* (cf. Ptol. *Geog.* v. 14), mod. *Jusieh*, cf. also Steiner and Hoffmann, *ZAW.* III (1883), p. 97. A Babylonian identification of Eden has been persistently sought. It has been brought into connection with the Babylonian district *Karduniaš* [varr. *Kar-du-ni-ši*, *Gin-du-ni-šu*], so Rawlinson (*vide* Delitzsch, *Paradies*, pp. 65 ff., 133 ff.). Among a list of cities in the Sumerian language is mentioned *Sipar Edina*=Sippar of Eden (so Pinches, *O.T. and Bab.-Ass. Records*² (1903), p. 70). Then there must be mentioned *Ĝu-edin-na* (thought by Hommel to be the old name for the Chaldaeans) [III R. 53, 4; II R. 59, Rev. 43; IV R. 21*, no. 2, Rev. 19], *nar-edin-na*, *kiš-edin-na* (rivers) which Hommel has brought into comparison with the name [cf. Hommel, *Geog. u. Gesch.* pp. 241 ff.; *vide* Jeremias, *A.T.A.O.*² (1906), pp. 188 f.]. In one of the great syllabaries (S^b) *edinu* is synonym for *ēru*="plain, desert." It is interesting

A river issues from Eden [vs. 10] which branches into four [vss. 11-14.] The man is put into the garden with certain injunctions [vss. 15-17]. In vs. 18 we have the recognition that a help-meet is essential for the man. In vs. 19a we have an account of the creation of beasts and birds, but not of the help-meet which we were led to expect from the tenor of vs. 18. Then follows the naming of the beasts and birds [vs. 19b]. Vss. 21 f. contain the delayed account of the creation of the help-meet, and her name [חַוְוָה]. Vs. 25 furnishes the connecting link with chap. 3. Chap. 3, vss. 1-19, form a continuous narrative which flows logically and without interruption. In vs. 20 we have another name given to the woman [חַוְוָה]. Adam and Eve are clothed in skins [vs. 21] (in 3:7 their garments were aprons of fig leaves). The expulsion from the garden follows [vss. 22-24].

Obviously we have here the commingling of, at least, two originally distinct narratives (1) a Creation story, (2) a Paradise story.

The Creation story.—A continuous narrative is furnished by 2:4b, (5a), 7, 9a, 19a, 20, 18, 21, 22, 23b (or 3:20). Of the nature of redactional additions are vss. 5b, 9b, 19b(?), 24. Vs. 23a is apparently a quotation from an old form of words used at a marriage ceremony.

In the day that the **Lord God made** earth and heavens. (And no plant of the field was yet in the earth, and no herb of the field had yet sprung up.) And the **Lord God formed** the man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living soul. . . . (And out of the ground the **Lord God made to grow** every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food.) And the **Lord God formed** from the ground every living thing of the field, and every fowl of the heavens, and brought [them] unto the man to see what he would call them (lit. it). And the man gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the heavens, and to every beast of the field; and for the man he had not found an help-meet for him. And the **Lord God said** "It is not good that man should be alone. I will make an help-meet for him." And the **Lord God caused to fall** a deep sleep upon the man, and he slept,

(people), etc.] which would be quite suitable here. It must, however, be acknowledged that where J employs the word elsewhere [i.e., Gen. 21:33 (a tamarisk tree); Gen. 9:20 (a vineyard); Num. 24:6 [JE] (vine)] it is taken in the literal sense.

seems to lie in a surrender of the assumption that the whole section is the work of one hand and the reflection of one mind. We have to deal with a composite document, the constituent elements of which it is our task to determine.

Analysis of the narrative.—The story of the Garden of Eden is contained in Gen. 2:8—3:24. This section in its turn forms part of a larger whole extending from 2:4b—3:24, and distinguished from the surrounding context by the use of the double name יהוה אלהים.⁶ Thus in Gen. 1:1—2:4a (also a whole and attributed to P) the divine name employed is אלהים. In chap. 4 again there is a sudden change to the use of יהוה alone. Modern criticism in general assigns the Eden story to J.

An examination of the whole section [2:4a—3:24] reveals a curious mingling of subjects. The section opens with what purports to be an account of creation [vs. 4b]. A "mist" goes up from the earth [vs. 6] and the man is formed [vs. 7]. After the statement in vs. 5, we expect an account of the creation of vegetation to follow. But at this stage the creation narrative is interrupted by the opening account of the Garden of Eden [vs. 8]. Vegetation of a particular kind⁷ (עץ) is made to grow within the confines of the garden [vs. 9].

⁶ The distinctive use of the twofold name, may be due to the final redactor [R_p], who adopted this device to bridge over the incongruity occasioned by the sudden and unexplained change in the divine name from *Elohim* in the first chapter to *Jahveh* in the second. This seems the most plausible explanation, although others are possible. Thus J may have availed himself of an older document in which *Elohim* was employed, and added of his own accord *Jahveh* thereto. Or the composite name may be due to some Q^{re} [יהוה or אלהים] which has crept into the text. The LXX and Vulgate, it should be observed, read most often ὁ θεός [אלהים]. In the conversation between the woman and the serpent, the name used is merely אלהים [Gen. 3:1, 3, 5]. Whatever be the true explanation of the phenomenon, it can hardly represent a fusion of J and P sections dealing with the same theme.

⁷ Cf. the עֵץ and עֵשֶׂב of vs. 4 which we should have expected here. Vs. 8 limits the garden to an orchard. It might be argued that other forms of vegetation than the עֵץ may be comprised in the רִיחַ of vs. 8, but נָטַע in addition to its literal meaning of planting (trees, etc.) has the figurative sense of establishing [cf. Isa 51:16 (the heavens); Jer. 1:10; 18:9; 31:28

diversity between the creation account of Gen. 1:1—2:4a and that in the section under review, explaining away the discrepancy by maintaining that after the seventh day Moses began *φυσιολογεῖν περὶ τῆς τ' ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς*.¹⁰ We must for the moment be content, however, merely to draw attention to the existence of these different documents without making any effort at closer delimitation.

A third document.—It will be observed that no attempt has been made to include vss. 6, 10–14 in either of the foregoing. These verses are marked off for differential treatment by certain peculiar characteristics. Since vss. 11–14 hinge on vs. 10, being of the nature of a gloss on that verse, our immediate concern is with vss. 6 and 10. For convenience we reproduce the Hebrew.

וְאֵד יַעֲלֶה מִן־הָאָרֶץ וְהִשְׁקָה אֶת־כָּל־פְּנֵי הָאָדָמָה: 6
וְנָהָר יֵצֵא מִעֵדֶן לְהִשְׁקוֹת אֶת־הַגֶּן וּמִשָּׁם יִפְרֹד יְהוָה לְאַבְרָעָה 10
רִאשִׁים:

The peculiarities to note in connection with these two verses are:

a) *The absence of the name יהוה אלהים* from both. In both cases we have every reason to expect the divine name. Observe in the context how each new phenomenon of creation is attributed to the active intervention of the Lord God—the Lord God made, the Lord God formed, the Lord God planted, made to grow, took, etc. It is the same in the first chapter of Genesis. Each new act of creation is described to the power of the word of God. Each is introduced by the familiar phrase “And God said.” In the present case both verses introduce phenomena, which consistently with the context ought to have been assigned to the activity of Jahveh Elohim. In vs. 6 an אֶד goes up either from, or upon,¹¹ the earth.

¹⁰ Since in his Preface he asserts that the great lawgiver only shrewdly hinted at some things, while others again he concealed in a dignified allegory, explaining expressly such things as it was expedient to discuss directly [πάντα γὰρ τῇ τῶν ὄλων φύσει σύμφωνον ἔχει τὴν διάθεσιν, τὰ μὲν αἰνιττομένους τοῦ νομοθέτου δεξιῶς, τὰ δ' ἀλληγοροῦντος μετὰ σεμνότητος, ὅσα δ' ἐξ εὐθείας λέγεσθαι συνέφερε, ταῦτα ῥητῶς ἐμφανίζοντος], Josephus probably means by *φυσιολογεῖν* some allegorical or enigmatical treatment of the subject.

¹¹ עָל so in Merx, *Chrestomathia Targumica* (1888), also Haupt, *Proceedings of American Oriental Society*, 1896, pp. 158 ff.

In vs. 10 a river issues forth from Eden. We should thus have expected in vs. 6 יַיֵּעַל יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶדֶן and in vs. 10 יוֹצֵא יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים נָהָר.

b) A second point to notice is that the *grammatical cast* of both verses is the same, and that in this respect also they differ from the context. Take vs. 6, for instance. The "tense" of the sentence is the imperfect probably with jussive force. "And an אֶדֶן shall go up from (upon) the earth and shall water the whole surface of the ground." Or it may be "and let an אֶדֶן go up," etc., "and let it water," etc. It is not merely a "continuation of the descriptive sentence by the imperfect and consecutive perfect" [Dillmann]. In vs. 10 we have an unusual construction—the participle followed by an imperfect.¹² It almost seems as if by the use of the participle an attempt had been made by the Massoretes to get back to the perfect in this manner since the form of the sentence denied them otherwise. The original reading in accord with vs. 6 was, no doubt, יֹצֵא not יַיֵּעַל.

c) *The tenor of the verses* marks them off from the surrounding text. It has long been recognized that vss. 10–14 had no part in the original narrative.¹³ They obviously interrupt it. Holzinger, too, has recognized the individuality of vs. 6, and thinks that it once stood after vs. 8 in the description of the garden.¹⁴ As we have shown above in our analysis, they can be removed without inconvenience from their place in the text for separate consideration. According to 10a a distinction must be made between Eden and the garden. It has never been evident why such distinction should be made. That Eden and the garden have separate identities might be maintained from the בֵּן-בִּעְדֵּן of 8a, but the ב has all the appearance of an interpolation introduced to justify and support the reading

¹² "The participle, followed by the imperfect and the consecutive perfect, expresses continuance; whether in the past or in the present of the author, may seem doubtful. The statement of purpose, לְהַשְׁקִיף, leads rather to the former conclusion."—Dillmann, *Genesis* (Eng. transl.), I (1897), p. 123.

¹³ Such is the view, e.g., of Ewald, Dillmann, Bunsen, Toy, Holzinger, Gunkel, Cheyne.

¹⁴ Cf., however, Cheyne, *En. B.*, s.v. "Paradise," col. 3573.

This וַיִּבְרָא, moreover, would give us a valuable additional connecting link between vs. 6 and 10. These sentences would then run:

... וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים הָאֲרֶזֶת וְהַיָּבֵשֶׁת 6
 ... וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים הָאֲרֶזֶת וְהַיָּבֵשֶׁת 10

In respect both of form and matter these verses purport to be a fragment of a creation story. As we know from Babylonian literature there could be several theories of creation existing side by side among the same people. Even in the Old Testament we have traces of more than one cosmogony and several cosmogonic echoes.²¹ The verses before us, moreover, were to all seeming consecutive portions of the same document. Adhering to a strictly literal interpretation of the verses, we should say that this document formed a cosmogonic narrative, wherein, after the fashion of the cosmogony of P [Gen. 1:1-2:4a], the several acts of creation resulted from the divine command.

We have now distinguished in the section Gen. 2:4b-3:24, three separate sources or documents: (1) a creation story, which for convenience we shall call *c*, (2) the garden story, which we shall call *g*, and (3) a cosmogonic fragment, which since it centers on the fountain (וַיִּבְרָא) we shall denote *f*.

It is of interest and of importance to compare the three creation stories or fragments of such, which, if our analysis be correct, we find within such short compass. These are our *c* and *f* documents, and the cosmogony of P [Gen. 1:1-2:4a].

a) The c documents.—According to *c*, when the earth and heavens are fashioned by God, the earth is *dry*—so dry that no vegetation can grow upon it. The implication [cf. vs. 5b] is that the earth will be watered by rain. The author of *c* does not seem to be acquainted with any other means of irrigation. He makes no mention of any great body

²¹ Cf. (in addition to the cosmogonies in the first two chapters of Genesis) Job 38:4-11; Prov. 8:23-29. We have cosmogonic echoes in Gen. 49:25; Judg. 5:20; Job 15:7, 8; and figurative reflections of the Babylonian myth in Isa. 27:1; 51:9b; Ps. 74:13, 14; 89:10, 11; Job 3:8; 9:13; 26:12, 13. On the various Babylonian creation myths *vide* Weber, *Litteratur der Babylonier und Assyrier* (1906), pp. 40-60.

of water, such as seas, or rivers. Nor is this an accidental omission due to J. It is inherent in the document itself as is manifest from vss. 19, 20, where only "beasts of the field" and "fowls of the air" are included in the creation of the animals. No mention is made of the denizens of the deep, so conspicuous in P's cosmogony—no waters bringing forth abundantly the moving thing that hath life" [cf. Gen. 1:20-22].

c is the simplest of our three cosmogonic documents. Its conception of the Deity and of the universe is the most rudimentary. God labors in the process of creation. He shapes the earth and heavens, forms man of dust from the ground, and out of the ground fashions the beasts of the field and the fowl of the air. The notion of creation here presented could only have been the expression of the reflections of a people of primitive culture. The outlook is circumscribed. It is the cosmogony of a child of nature. The surrounding is that of the desert, where water is scarce, where the earth is dry and dusty, and where vegetation springs luxuriant after rain. There is here none of the sublimity of P's narrative, where God but spake and it was done.

b) *The f document*.—Short though it is, this fragment takes us into an entirely different atmosphere. We are at once conscious of a wider and more comprehensive outlook, the fruits of riper speculation. If *c* is the outcome of desert musings, *f* is the product of culture in a land of cultivation. The author of *f* has in his mind's eye a grand terrestrial scheme of irrigation. Four rivers branch off from a parent river, which in its turn is fed from a fountain—no doubt one of the fountains of the great deep.²² The parent river is probably the circumfluent Okeanos.²³ The four great world rivers—

²² Cf. Gen. 7:11b (P); 8:2 (P) [מַעְיֵנוֹת תְּהוֹמוֹת (רְבֵּה)]; Prov. 8:28 [מַעְיֵנוֹת תְּהוֹמוֹת]; Job 38:16 [נְבִיכָיִים].

²³ An all-encircling Okeanos, known to the Greeks of Homeric times, was also believed in by the Babylonians. The well-known *Mappa Mundi* in the British Museum [No. 92687; cf. *C.T.*, XXII, 48] depicts the world encircled by a *nār marratum* ("bitter river," viz. salt sea). The *nār marratum* is not merely the Persian Gulf, as some commentators assume. It is the ocean, the *river* which encircles the earth. In one of the Assyrian

perhaps one for each of the great world divisions—leave it to rejoin it again. “Unto the place whence the rivers go, thither they return again.”²⁴

Such conceptions as these could only originate among a people familiar with broad and extensive waterways. There can be no hesitation in fixing the birthplace of *f*. Babylonia is writ large upon it. The terminations of the names Pishon and Gihon, too, suggest Hebraized forms of Babylonian-Assyrian names terminating in *ānu*. Even the form of sentence with the subject preceding the verb is after true Babylonian fashion.²⁵

c) *The P cosmogony*.—In Gen. 1:1—2:4a we recognize the work of a writer who has a grand conception of the universe and a noble and exalted conception of God. The outlook revealed is wide, and the scheme of creation logical. He covers the whole universe in his range. His cosmology, however, is still tinged with the crudities of early speculative philosophy. To the writer of *P* the heaven is still a solid roof overhead restraining the waters of the primeval abyss with floodgates whence these waters escape as rain [cf. Gen. 7:11]. But his education has been extensive. He knows of the wonders of the heavens. He can appreciate the value of the planetary orbs for omens [אֲחֹזָה], for the determination of the sacred seasons [בְּיָמֵינוּ], and for recording time in general [יָמִים וְשָׁנִים]. He knows of the “great sea-serpents” [תַּנִּינִים בְּרָלִים], presupposing

syllabaries *marratu* is given as synonymous with *unqu*, ring. The circular shape of the earth (probably a deduction from the form of the horizon) seems to be the assumption underlying such passages as Isa. 40:22; Prov. 8:27; Job 26:10. In Ps. 65:10 (9) behind the figurative language we have possibly the thought of the ocean as the פֶּלֶא אֱלֹהִים, or canal of God. According to Josephus the river of Eden is the river that surrounds the earth. [Ἄρδεται δ' οὗτος ὁ κήπος ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ποταμοῦ, πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν γῆν περιρρέοντος, ὃς εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη σχίζεται κ.τ.λ.—*Ant.* I. i. 3]. We do not know what authority Josephus followed, but his account is certainly in conformity with the spirit of the *f* document and may represent an earlier and better form of text free from disfiguring emendations.

²⁴ Eccles. 1:7.

²⁵ Pride of place might have been given to the subject in vss. 6 and 10 as a direct translation from a Babylonian original.

a general acquaintance with the great deep and the tales of adventurous sea-farers. His repeated use of *יָדָע* implies also a general knowledge of the various species of beasts, birds, fishes, and insects. P's conception of God although lofty is not altogether free from anthropomorphism. It is sufficient, however, that God should speak (almost the minimum of effort),²⁶ and it is done. Man made in God's image has forthwith dominion over the creatures. The horizon of the author of P is much more extended than that of *c* for instance. He is the product of a richer civilization.

A detailed consideration of *g* need not occupy our attention here. It is so obviously different from the other documents that it is quite unnecessary to emphasize the distinction.

The nature of the documents we have thus briefly reviewed, their manner of thought and style of diction, fully justify their separation. It only remains to give sufficient reason for the cause and manner of their compilation.

The combination of c and g.—It will be readily acknowledged that *g* presupposes a creation narrative. It deals with the creation epoch, with the first man and woman, and the first creatures. A direct connection with a preceding cosmogony is even indicated by such references as "the man whom he had fashioned" [2:8b] "the beasts of the field which the Lord God had made" [3:1]. Was this preceding narrative of creation our *c*? It is natural to infer from their present connection that it was, and this view receives support from the diction of the two phrases quoted, re-echoing as it does the phraseology of 2:19, 20. The documents thus display a certain relationship which cannot, and need not, be set aside. Their harmony of diction lends confirmation to the opinion already expressed that from whatever sources the original compiler (probably J) drew his material he made free use of it, molding it to his own style.

But common sense demands that the union of diverse documents such as *c* and *g* should be a union of entities, not a fusion, such as we find here, where passages from the one document are taken out

²⁶ For the doctrine of creation by the mere exercise of thought, we must turn to India.

and spread broadcast through the pages of the other. How, then, is it possible to account for the remarkable interweaving of the documents? On the surface there seems no good reason for it. If, say, the working-over of *c* and *g* had been by different hands, and *g* had thus possessed certain cosmogonic elements of its own, which could be supplanted by corresponding portions of *c*, such interlacing of sources would be natural, since documents become fused together in this manner, not because of dissimilarity, but because they have certain elements in common. Such case, however, is not applicable here.

The rearrangement of the text and consequent mingling of documents may be traced to the editorial manipulation of a late period. The creation narrative, as we know, has been disseminated through the opening passages of the Paradise story in a remarkable manner, the result, it may be, of an attempt to exhibit a logical order in the development of events. For an explanation we need not look farther than the statement of 2:8b—"and there (i.e., in the garden) he put *the man* whom he had formed." We have here no mention of woman, nor of the beasts of the field. If this represents the original phrasing—as there is every reason to believe²⁷—anyone reading the Paradise story critically might reasonably wonder at the inconsistency of a narrative which began by assigning occupation of the garden to the man alone, and then suddenly brought on the scene the woman and the serpent.²⁸ When the text had acquired a special sacredness, a remedy could not be sought in the ordinary way by means of the requisite additions and corresponding grammatical alterations. It was a clever solution of the difficulty that suggested itself. By

²⁷ This ignoring of the woman who plays so important a part in the narrative, is perhaps typically oriental. Cf. 3:22-24, where again there is no mention of woman.

²⁸ Josephus, who had no doubt access to works, bearing on the sacred records, which have been lost, or to traditions respecting treatment of text and interpolation of subject matter which are no longer preserved, takes the creation narrative in Gen. chap. 2 (our *c*), as a complete document preceding the Paradise story (*g*). He expressly states that God brought Adam *and his wife* into the garden, and explains that at that time the serpent lived with them [cf. *Ant.* I. i. 3 f.].

rearranging the text suitably, it might be made to appear that woman was created *after man was put in the garden*. The same, too, with the beasts of the field. Thus it comes about that the creation of woman, and of the beasts of the field, is made to appear as a work performed by the Lord God *within the garden*, while the language used, as can be readily observed, conveys not the slightest hint that such was really the case. If these acts of creation had been performed within the garden, it is scarcely possible to believe from the style of the Paradise narrative that all reference to the surroundings could have been suppressed.

Then, again, there are flaws in the welding. In 2:8b we are told that the Lord God planted a garden and put (וַיִּטֵּם) there the man whom he had fashioned. In vs. 15 we are again told that the Lord God took the man and settled him (וַיַּנְחֵהוּ) in the garden "to dress it and to keep it" (לְעֲבֹדָה וּלְשָׁמְרָה). There is no apparent need for a repetition of the statement that man was put into the garden. Still, this is not a point to which much value can be attached. Mere repetition of the same fact in an altered form of words is not evidence calculated to impugn the unity of a writing—if that were all. But note the anomaly in vs. 15. The word בֶּן is masculine, and yet we read that the man was appointed לְעֲבֹדָה וּלְשָׁמְרָה. The feminine suffixes here make it evident that the reference was originally not to the garden but to the אֲדָמָה of the creation narrative. Nor can the passage even be construed into an implicit reference to the אֲדָמָה of the garden. It was part of man's punishment that he was sent back "to till the ground whence he was taken" [3:23]. The dressing and keeping of the אֲדָמָה was the duty assigned to man in the creation narrative. Thus in vs. 15 we have part of c masquerading as part of g.

Then there is the problem of the f document. Why such obviously extraneous matter as is here contained should be mixed up with the other documents is not very obvious. Might it be that the notion of a pleasure-graden demanded that there be fountains and streams as well as all sorts of pleasant trees? The famous "Hanging Gardens" of Babylon were after this manner. Engines were installed in the foundations to pump up water for their running streams.

Wo lag das Paradies?—We are now approaching the end of our inquiry. There remains but to fix the site of Eden, or rather the Pleasure-garden, in accordance with our analysis. This compels us to a twofold consideration of site. In the first place there is the site of the Pleasure-garden according to the Paradise story proper (the *g* document), and in the second place there is the site of “Eden” as it is presented after the compilation of the documents.

According to *g* the man after his creation is set in a garden filled with “every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food.” The point meant to be emphasized clearly is that the man has been thus appointed to a life of luxury and ease. There is no need to labor. His food is ready to hand. He is warned, however, against aspiring to the peculiar privileges and attributes of Deity.²⁹ These, as we learn from the context, are (1) “the knowing of good and evil,” viz., the power of discriminating between right and wrong, or perhaps, simply, of exercising the faculty of reason [cf., 3:5, 23], (2) the possession of immortality. Hence we learn indirectly what were regarded as the special attributes of Deity at the date of the narrative.³⁰ The man and woman, at the instigation of the serpent,³¹ partake of the forbidden fruit, and thereby become possessed of one divine attribute—the sense of right and wrong. In consequence man forthwith became responsible for his conduct, where hitherto he had been irresponsible. He has become in part divine without being fitted otherwise for his high estate. “Behold the man is become as one of us knowing good and evil” [3:22]. To man, however, the other attribute of immortality is denied by a timely exclusion from the garden [3:22*b*, 23 f.].

It is evident that the whole narrative is a figure of speech enshrining the doctrine of an irresponsible and sinless state in which man was created, whence he passed into one responsible and sinful. It

²⁹ The man is not told that the tree, or rather trees—for no doubt the tree of life was included in the prohibition also—possessed such properties. It is the serpent, presumably by divination of some sort (see below), who acquires the secret and divulges it to the woman.

³⁰ This is also the Babylonian conception. When the God Ea created the man Adapa, we are told “wisdom he gave him, eternal life he gave him not.”

draws attention to the semi-divine in man—the possession of wisdom which so separates him from the rest of the animal world. From what we can gather there appears to have been no definite location of the garden in the mind of the narrator. His Pleasure-garden is an ideal locality. With the expulsion of Adam and Eve it is closed forever to mankind. If the **מִקְדָּם** of 2:8 belonged to the original narrative, and is to be interpreted “eastward,” then, perhaps, the garden may have been vaguely conceived of as situated somewhere in the east, beyond the ocean perhaps,³² and the “flame of a sword which turned either way” may be figurative of the rays of the rising sun.

The other site—the site of the Pleasure-garden as indicated by the Massoretic text—is far to seek. We may with perfect safety

³¹ **נִחֵשׁ**. There is a verb **נִחֵשׁ** meaning “to practice divination, use enchantment, etc.,” which may or may not be connected with **נִחֵשׁ**. Used only in the *Pi'el*, it is generally regarded as a denominative from **נִחֵשׁ**. There is this objection, however, that the Aramaic has **נִחֵשׁ** but no **נִחֵשׁ**. If **נִחֵשׁ**, then, be not a derivative of **נִחֵשׁ**, we have new insight into the appearance on the scene of the **נִחֵשׁ** in the rôle of tempter. It gives the reason of his implied acquaintance with the divine secrets. [Note J's use of the word in Gen. 30:27; 44:5, 15 (story of Joseph), and that of the noun **נִחֵשׁ** (“divination, enchantment”) by JE, Num. 23:23; 24:1 (story of Balaam).] A play upon words, such as this view would admit of, makes a strong appeal to the Hebrew imagination. The choice may even have fallen on the serpent from its having “poison under its tongue,” a physical feature which could readily be travestied figuratively [cf., e.g., Job. 20:12; Ps. 10:7, etc.].

³² Cf. *Ethiopic Enoch* [LXXX. iii. 2 ff.]: “And thence I went over the summits of those mountains, far towards the East, and passed above the Erythrean Sea [here=Indian Ocean], and went far from it. . . . and I came into the garden of righteousness, and saw . . . the tree of wisdom . . . and the holy angel Rufael, who was with me, answered me and said, ‘This is the tree of wisdom of which thy old father and thy aged mother, who were before thee, have eaten, and they recognized that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden.’”—R. H. Charles, *Book of Enoch* (1893), pp. 102 f. So also Ephrem Syrus and Cosmas Indicopleustes transported Eden to the other side of the ocean. *Up[Ar]šukunnakku*, the council chamber of the Babylonian gods, was conceived of as situated on the earth in the east in the mountains of sunrise not far from the edge of the world.

aver that it cannot be found at all. "A river branching into four, of which two are the Tigris and Euphrates, corresponds to nothing which is to be found—or, we may safely add, was ever to be found—on the surface of the earth."³³ The incorporation of the *f* document gave to the Pleasure-garden a semblance of reality and an apparent definiteness of location, that were entirely absent from the Paradise story proper. The situation was not improved by the modifications made on the text from time to time, of which the main were the mistaken interpretation of עֵדֶן as a place-name, the substitution of עֵדֶן for עֵי in vs. 10 (if indeed this did not take place in the *f* document before incorporation and thereby furnish the reason for the incorporation), and the interpolation of ב before עֵדֶן in vs. 8. Hence an entirely artificial "Eden" came into being which has proved the despair of critics. Nor is it only modern critics who have been puzzled. In vss. 11–14 we have quite a little commentary on the rivers of "Eden." The form of vs. 14b suggests that originally the names merely of the rivers were furnished. The rest of the geographical information in vss. 11–14 has been added from time to time—it may be, in the form of interlinear³⁴ scholia which ultimately crept into the text.³⁵ But why pursue the subject further! It is, as we

³³ Driver, *Genesis* (1904), p. 58.

³⁴ The earliest Massoretic notes, the so-called *Massorah parva*, were written on the outer and inner margins; but there is at least one case in which such notes are found between the lines of the Hebrew text [a MS in the possession of Dr. Gaster, *vide Illustrated Bibles*, p. 12]. We are therefore justified in assuming the possibility of interlinear additions in times pre-Massoretic when the text was not yet rigid.

³⁵ Thus one early scholiast, to obviate the obscurity of the names of the rivers, identified the Pishon with the river "which compasseth the whole land of Havilah," and the Gihon with that "which compasseth the whole land of Cush." The Hiddeqel is defined as "that which goeth in front of Assyria." The impression we gather from such explanatory comments is that the commentator had before him some early, and therefore crude, map of the world. But even the explanations he furnishes are not altogether satisfactory. Cush and Assyria were familiar land-names to the Hebrews, but Havilah was apparently unknown. A second commentator consequently adds after Havilah "where there is gold," while yet a third, either to make the identification clearer or to display his own knowledge, contributes the additional

have said, an entirely artificial "Eden" that the Massoretic text presents for our consideration. To attempt to locate it is folly.

Here, then, we may let the matter rest. The real "Eden" has no existence in reality, while the site of the artificial "Eden" is, and will forever remain indeterminable.

information "and the gold of that land is good, and there is bdellium and the onyx stone." These comments, so suggestive of Babylonian-Assyrian lists, encouraged Delitzsch to sift the appropriate cuneiform material without, however, obtaining much reward for his efforts.

The very fact that three out of the four rivers whose names are given require explanatory comment, constitutes in itself strong proof of the foreign origin of that particular part of the narrative. The only river that explains itself is the Euphrates (Perath), which from its comparative nearness was familiar to the Hebrews.

THE MEANING OF בִּתְרוֹן¹

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The word בִּתְרוֹן occurs just once in the earliest Hebrew prose narrative which has come down to us, is found nowhere else in the Old Testament, and is entirely unknown to later Hebrew. In II Sam. 2:29, in the story of Abner's retreat to Mahanaim after his disastrous trial of strength with the army of Joab at the pool of Gibeon, we read: ואבנר ואנשיו הלכו בערבה כל הלילה ההוא ויעברו את הירדן וילכו כל הבתרון ויבאו מהנים. The verse is rendered by the Authorized Version, "And Abner and his men walked all that night through the plain, and passed over Jordan, and went through all Bithron, and they came to Mahanaim." The Revised Version substitutes "the Arabah" for "the plain," and "went" for "walked"; otherwise it retains substantially the rendering of the Authorized.

In the assumption that הַבִּתְרוֹן—whether descriptive, appellative, or proper name—stands for some geographical or topographical quantity, some route, locality, or region lying east of Jordan, between the ford which Abner crossed and the city of Mahanaim, the current English versions follow the well-nigh uniform tradition of translators and exegetes, both ancient and modern. When it comes to the more exact definition of the term, however, a considerable degree of uncertainty seems to have existed, nevertheless, from the earliest times.

The texts of the Alexandrian Greek are practically unanimous: καὶ διέβαινον τὸν Ἰορδάνην καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ὅλην τὴν παρατείνουσαν, καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. There are no variants worth mentioning.² Some forty years ago, Wellhausen wrote: "הַבִּתְרוֹן wird auch der LXX vorgelegen haben als בִּתְרָן = παρατείνουσα.

¹ Reprinted, with corrections and additions, from *Essays in Modern Theology and Related Subjects*, published as a *Testimonial to Charles Augustus Briggs*, New York, 1911.

² See Holmes and Parsons, *ad loc.* The reading εἰς παρεμβολὰς Μαδιαμ of the "Lucianic" manuscripts is both confate and corrupt.

Bei Ortsnamen ist dergleichen am ehesten begreiflich, vgl. Chaifa Kaiphas, Milano Mailand, Mars la Tour Marsch retour u.a.”;³ that is, the Greek construed the word as a proper name and rendered it by a punning Greek equivalent. That such fantastic phonetic equations were not foreign to the Greek translators, Wellhausen showed sufficiently well at the time.⁴ But the requisite assumption of a reading בְּרִתֵּן is unwarranted; and Wellhausen himself would perhaps be of a different opinion today. *παρὰτείνω* occurs in the Greek of the Old Testament some half-dozen times,⁵ always with the meaning *to extend, to stretch out, to be outlying* and prevailing in topographical contexts.⁶ The Greek, therefore, simply interpreted our passage, *And they crossed the Jordan, and traversed the entire outlying region, and arrived at the camp* (Mahanaim). We cannot be quite certain whether the translator construed בְּתִירִן as a proper name or as an appellative. But it is clear that no derivative of Hebrew בְּתַר will support his rendering. The interpretation ἡ *παρὰτείνουσα* is obviously based on Aramaic בְּתַר, *after*, or one of its derivatives, such as בְּתַרְחָה or בְּתִירְחָה, *posterior, postremus*; cf. Syriac ܥܕܢܬܐ, *posterioritas*.⁷ בְּתַר (or בְּאַתַּר) occurs already in Dan. 2:39; 7:6 f., although it had apparently not been coined at the time of the Elephantine papyri. Possibly the translator supposed בְּתִירִן to have been the Aramaic proper name of a trans-Jordanic territory; or he may have adopted his rendering only as a counsel of despair, though understanding the word as a Hebrew appellative. At all events, since the Aramaic בְּתַר is itself compounded of the preposition ב and אַתַּר, *spot, place, track*, to account for the Greek interpretation is to reject it.

Of the later Greek versions, we know only that Aquila rendered הַבְּתִירִן as a proper name, *Βεθωπῶν*.⁸ Since the usual Greek

³ *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, p. 156.

⁴ *L.c.*, pp. 10 f., note.

⁵ See Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, p. 1065.

⁶ With τὸ *παρὰτείνον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον* the Greek correctly renders הַנִּשְׁקָה עַל פְּנֵי הַיַּרְדֵּן of Num. 23:28, against the current and misleading “that looks down upon” of modern interpreters. Balak took Balaam to the head of a ravine (פְּעִיר) that extended to (or looked out upon) the יַרְדֵּן.

⁷ See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, *ad voc.* ܥܕܢܐ.

⁸ Field, *Origenis Hezaplorum quae supersunt*, I, p. 550.

spelling of Hebrew בית הורון is *Βαιθωρων* (that is, with a long vowel in the first syllable), it is not likely that Aquila had a different reading from our בתרון, nor have we any reason to suppose that the article was lacking in his manuscript. In construing the word as a proper name, he merely followed the rabbinical exegesis of his day.

It must have been Aquila's *Βεθωρων* that suggested to Jerome the pronunciation *Bethoron* for the word which he, too, understood as a proper name: *et transierunt Jordanem et lustrata omni Bethoron* (some manuscripts and the official Vulgate have *Beth horon*) *venerunt ad castra*; for there is no trace of a Hebrew בית הורון in any text of this passage. Vercellone⁹ quotes the opinion of Clericus to the effect that the Vulgate reading *Beth horon* for *Bithron* should be charged to later scribes, and not to Jerome himself. But Jerome's *Onomasticon* contains, under the rubric *Interpretationes secundi libri regum*, the definition "Bethoron domus irae,"¹⁰ showing that whether Jerome wrote *Bethoron* or *Beth horon*—more probably the former—he identified the word with the Hebrew proper name בית הורון. Evidently he, too, was more confused than informed upon the subject.

The Peshîṭa seems to have taken the bull by the horns, avoiding the difficulties of translation by means of a bold paraphrase:

וַיַּעֲבִירוּ יֵת יִרְדְּנָה וַיִּמְרְצוּ בְּכָל בְּתָרוֹן וַיָּבִיאוּ אֶת מַחֲנֵיהֶם

*And they crossed the Jordan, and marched in the direction of Geshur, and reached Mahanaim.*¹¹ The only light this version sheds upon our problem is that the translator admittedly did not quite understand his Hebrew, and that he manifestly had never heard of such a locality as "the Bithrôn."

Jewish rabbinical tradition has followed the most comfortable course by explaining הַבְּתָרוֹן as a geographical proper name. So the Targum of Jonathan: וַיַּעֲבִירוּ יֵת יִרְדְּנָה וַיִּמְרְצוּ בְּכָל בְּתָרוֹן וַיָּבִיאוּ אֶת מַחֲנֵיהֶם לְבִיתֵיהֶם. Similarly the mediæval commentators,¹² who do not linger upon the subject. Rashi contents himself with two words, שם

⁹ *Variae lectiones vulgatae latinae Bibliorum editionis*, II, p. 326.

¹⁰ Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*³, p. 68.

¹¹ I cite from the London polyglot; the Urûmiah edition has the same text.

¹² See the Rabbinical Bibles.

טֵם מַחֲזוֹ וּגְבוּל מִעֵבֶר David Qimḥi: לִירֵדוֹן נִקְרָא כֵן עַל עֲנִיִּין דְּדוֹעַ אֲצִלָּם, *name of a town and territory lying beyond the Jordan, and named accordingly, after the familiar meaning of the word* [having reference not to Hebrew but to Aramaic בְּחֵר, and understanding the name as designating the country behind or beyond Jordan].

The single non-topographical explanation of הַבְּחֵרוֹן which I have found anywhere is that of the mediæval lexicographer Ibn Parḥon, whose dictionary (A.D. 1160)¹³ has this definition: יִלְכוּ כָל הַבְּחֵרוֹן פ' כֹּהֵל חֲרָגָם אַחֲרֹנִים בְּחֵרְאִין בֵּין תְּבִין, *The meaning of הַבְּחֵרוֹן is the rear guard, בְּחֵרְאִין being Aramaic for 'the last' (אַחֲרֹנִים), that is, of the retreating troops.* Ibn Parḥon obviously construed the word as subject of יִלְכוּ, and, like the Alexandrian Greek version before him and David Qimḥi after him, took it for a derivative of Aramaic בְּחֵר. The interpretation is nothing more than a curiosity. But it is interesting to find at least one scholar to whom the construction of כָּל הַבְּחֵרוֹן as object of יִלְכוּ was not the most natural one.

Coming to the modern authorities, Gesenius¹⁴ interpreted הַבְּחֵרוֹן as an appellative: "*regio montibus vallibusque dissecta, vel vallis montes dissecans*"; rendering, *et peragrata tota valle venerunt Machanaim*. He held that it makes little difference whether the word is construed as a proper name or as an appellative, since even the proper name will have originated from the character of the place, the trans-Jordanic country being exceedingly mountainous.

Recent lexicographers and commentators invariably explain הַבְּחֵרוֹן as a geographical term, some construing it as an appellative, but most as a proper name. Gesenius-Buhl: "*N. pr. einer Schlucht an d. Ostseite d. Jordans.*" Brown-Driver-Briggs, more cautiously: "*prob. n. pr. terr. (cleft, ravine) E. of Jordan.*" Siegfried und Stade: "*n. pr., Ort am Jordan.*" König: "*koupirtes Terrain östl. vom Jordan.*" Of commentaries and critical translations, Wellhausen has already been cited. Kittel¹⁵ renders:

¹³ *Maḥbereth ha'arūch*, edited by S. G. Stern, Pressburg, 1844, p. 11a.

¹⁴ *Thesaurus*, s.v.

¹⁵ In Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*.

“durchschritten die ganze Schlucht und gelangten so nach Mahanaim.” Löhr:¹⁶ “Ein Ort des Namens findet sich sonst nicht; es muss (sie setzen über den Jordan) eine Oertlichkeit *jenseits des Jordans* sein; eine bestimmte *Bergschlucht* welche vom Jordansufer nach Mahanaim gerade emporführt.” Henry Preserved Smith:¹⁷ “Abner and his men *marched in the Arabah all that night and crossed the Jordan and went through the whole Bithron* or Ravine, doubtless the proper name of one of the side valleys up which Mahanaim was situated.” Nowack¹⁸ renders: “zog durch die ganze Schlucht, und kam nach Mahanaim,” and remarks, “כל הבתרון ist fraglich, nur so viel ist klar, es muss eine Oertlichkeit jenseits des Jordans sein, seiner Bedeutung nach wäre es ‘Kluft, Schlucht.’” Finally, Budde:¹⁹ “הבתרון, nur hier, die Kluft, Schlucht, Klamm, muss das Seitenthal sein, an dessen oberem Ende Maḥanajim liegt, also nach unserer Annahme . . . der heutige *W. el-ḥimār*.” Driver²⁰ passes over the troublesome passage without comment.

The works on the geography of Palestine naturally conform to the current interpretation of בתרון. George Adam Smith:²¹ “Abner, after crossing Jordan, came through the Bithron or Gorge, a name which suits the narrow central portion of the Jordan Valley, to Manhanaim.” It may be observed, incidentally, that Smith fails to follow the narrative; the northward portion of Abner’s journey, which lay through that gorge (העירבה), had been accomplished before crossing the Jordan—unless we are to maintain that העירבה and הבתרון were two mutually exclusive sections of the Ghôr, with Mahanaim situated immediately on the latter’s eastern edge. Buhl²² is more in accord with recent commentators: “Das 2 Sam. 2:29 genannte *Bitron* (entweder *nom. propr.* od. *appell.*, etwa ‘Kluft’), durch welches Abner auf dem Wege nach Maḥanaim hinaufging, kann man wohl am besten mit *W. ‘aḡlun* zusammenstellen; jedenfalls lief später, wie es scheint, ein Römerweg von ‘aḡlun nach Maḥanaim.” So also Starck:²³ “Bithron war vermut-

¹⁶ *Die Bücher Samuelis*, p. 130.

¹⁷ *Commentary on the Books of Samuel*, p. 273.

¹⁸ *Handkommentar zum A. T.*, p. 159.

¹⁹ *Kurzer Handkommentar zum A. T.*, p. 207.

²⁰ *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*.

²¹ *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 586, note 2.

²² *Geographie des alten Palästina*, p. 121.

²³ *Palästina und Syrien*, s.v.

lich ein Tal jenseits des Jordans." And Kent:²⁴ "The Bithron, the ravine through which Abner and his men retired to Mahanaim, was probably the Wady Ajlun east of the Jordan."

Now it can be shown that all the interpretations and opinions cited above are fundamentally mistaken. The expression הַבְּתִירוֹן is not a geographical or topographical term, either descriptive, appellative, or proper name. The words כָּל הַבְּתִירוֹן are not the direct object of the preceding וַיֵּלְכוּ, but constitute an adverbial clause indicative of the *time during which* the march continued.

In the first place, כָּל הַבְּתִירוֹן cannot be the direct object of וַיֵּלְכוּ. It is true that an accusative—without preposition—is sometimes used with הֵלַךְ in the Hebrew of the Old Testament; but such accusative is almost invariably an adverbial modifier, and not the direct object of the verb. That such is the construction in the case of accusatives of time will be readily conceded. So הֵלְכוּ כָּל הַלַּיְלָה, in the verse we are discussing and in the following verse 32. But the construction of הֵלְכוּ אֲשֶׁר הֵלַךְ (Gen. 35:3) differs in no respect from that in הֵלְכוּ אֲשֶׁר הָיִים (Deut. 2:14). A demonstration, perhaps superfluous, is furnished by the text of Jer. 52:7: וַיֵּצְאוּ דֶרֶךְ שַׁעַר בֵּין הַחֲמָתִים וַיֵּלְכוּ דֶרֶךְ הָעֵרְבָה; as דֶרֶךְ cannot be the direct object of יֵצֵא in the first case, it is not the direct object of הֵלַךְ in the second; they "go out by" such a road, and they "travel by" such a road. In the same way presumably must we construe such expressions as הֵלַךְ דֶרֶךְ of Isa. 35:8, יֵלְכוּ אֶרְצוֹת of Judg. 5:6; although, since the accusatives are indeterminate, our case would not be prejudiced by admitting them to be direct objects.

The passages in which הֵלַךְ must be given the transitive meaning *traverse, march through*, are, as far as I can discover, only two: Deut. 1:19, וַיֵּצֵא מִחֶרֶב וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶת כָּל הַמִּדְבָּר הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא הַהוּא, *and we left Horeb and traversed the whole of this great and terrible wilderness which ye have seen*; Deut. 2:7, יָהוָה יָדַע לֵבְתֶּךָ אֶת הַמִּדְבָּר הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה *Yahwè was cognizant of thy march through this great wilderness*.²⁵ These two passages are adduced

²⁴ *Biblical Geography and History*, p. 154.

²⁵ Driver, in Brown-Driver-Briggs, s. v. אָת, holds that in these passages we have a peculiar use of אָת rather than a transitive use of הֵלַךְ; but it is easier to assume the latter than the former in so transparent a context. The case is different in Deut. 9:25

by H. P. Smith in support of the current interpretation of **וַיֵּלְכוּ** **כָּל הַבְּתָרוֹן** of II Sam. 2:29.²⁶ But a closer study shows that they refute rather than support his conclusion. The accusative is determinate in the one case (**כָּל הַמִּדְבָּר**, **כָּל הַבְּתָרוֹן**) as in the other (**כָּל הַבְּתָרוֹן**). But in the Deuteronomy passages the particle **אֵת** indicates that we are dealing with a direct object; whereas in the other, **כָּל הַבְּתָרוֹן** being determinate, the absence of **אֵת** proves that we are not dealing with a direct object.

But if **כָּל הַבְּתָרוֹן** is an adverbial accusative and yet determinate, it can have reference only to *time*, and not to space; for while **כָּל הַבְּתָרוֹן** as an adverbial accusative, indicative of the route taken, would perhaps be possible,²⁷ **כָּל הַבְּתָרוֹן** would be entirely impossible. The expression **וַיֵּלְכוּ כָּל הַבְּתָרוֹן** of 2:29 is exactly parallel to **וַיֵּלְכוּ כָּל הַלַּיְלָה** of 2:32 in our author's narrative. In verse 29, Abner and his men travel all the *bithrôn* and arrive at Mahanaim; in verse 32, Joab and his men travel all the night and arrive at Hebron. **כָּל הַבְּתָרוֹן** is the name of a certain part of the twenty-four-hour day.

On the question as to what part of the day it designates, etymology and the narrative of the author we are interpreting combine to leave no doubt whatever. After the battle (2:17) between the forces of Abner and those of Joab at the pool of Gibeon (2:13), the Israelites fled before the pursuing Judeans eastward toward the Arabah or Gorge of the Jordan Valley. The course of this flight naturally led through the **מִדְבַּר גִּבְעוֹן** (verse 24), that is, that part of The Wilderness (**הַמִּדְבָּר**, stretching all along the cultivated and inhabited country and separating the latter from the Arabah) which lay parallel with the city of Gibeon.²⁸ At sunset, the fugitive Israelites reach a site in the **מִדְבַּר** called **אֵמָה**, so little known to his readers that the author locates it for them as

(accusative of time). On the other hand, **וַיֵּלְכוּ כָּל הַבְּתָרוֹן** of Judg. 19:18 is unintelligible and certainly corrupt; see Moore's *Commentary*, pp. 415 f.

²⁶ *L.c.*, note.

²⁷ Note, however, that our author says **הָלַכְוּ בַּעֲרֵבָה**, not **הָלַכְוּ בַּעֲרֵבָה**.

²⁸ **מִדְבַּר גִּבְעוֹן** is not "the pasture land of Gibeon," which, as the commentators in their bewilderment correctly point out, could hardly be the rallying-point for the Israelites at sunset, after their long flight away from the pool of Gibeon; but that part of the common wilderness, **הַמִּדְבָּר**, which lies alongside of Gibeon. So **מִדְבַּר זֵיף**, **מִדְבַּר מְעוֹן**, **מִדְבַּר יִרְדֵּן**, **מִדְבַּר יִרְדֵּן** refer to those sections of the great wilderness lying between civilization and the Arabah which faced these several towns respectively. The expression is in all respects analogous to **יִרְדֵּן יִרְדֵּן**, *the Jordan at Jericho*. And **הַמִּדְבָּר**, *par excellence*, is as much of a proper name as **הָעֲרֵבָה**.

lying opposite גֵּיחַ on the road through the מְדַבֵּר גִּבְעוֹן (verse 24).²⁹ There they effect a rally of all their forces, and take their stand upon a single knoll (verse 25), while Abner implores Joab to call a halt to the baneful slaughter (verse 26). Thereupon Joab withdraws his followers from the pursuit, and the two armies march back to their respective headquarters, Abner to Mahanaim, and Joab to Hebron. The author tells exactly how long it took each army to reach home. Leaving גִּבְעַת אֲמָה (east, or perhaps east by north, of Gibeon) at sunset (verse 24), and stopping first on the route of the pursuit to recover his brother's body, then, late at night, at Bethlehem to inter the body in the ancestral tomb (verse 32), Joab continues his march through the night and reaches Hebron at sunrise of the next day (verse 32). On the other side, Abner marches northward through the Arabah, along the west bank of the Jordan, all through the night, crosses the Jordan in the morning, and, marching all the בַּחֲרוֹן, arrives at Mahanaim. It is clear from this narrative that הַבַּחֲרוֹן is less than twelve hours, for there is no mention of sunset or evening of the ensuing day. הַבַּחֲרוֹן is therefore a fraction of the (twelve-hour) day.

If now we turn to the following chapter 4, we may see how much time, in the estimation of this our author, the journey between the Jordan and Mahanaim ordinarily consumed. There the two assassins of Ishbaal travel in the reverse direction. They commit the murder in the palace at Mahanaim at noon (כָּחַם הַיּוֹם), while Ishbaal is enjoying his noon siesta (וְהוּא שָׁכַב אֶת מִשְׁכַּב הַצֹּהֲרַיִם).³⁰

²⁹ It is not to the point that to us גֵּיחַ is as little known as גִּבְעַת אֲמָה itself. The author was not writing for us, but for his contemporaries; and defeated troops have often contented themselves with a very insignificant village in sight of which to come to terms with their pursuers. For the rest, it would be hard to find a passage in the Old Testament where learning has done more to make confusion worse confounded. The most nearly correct rendering of II Sam. 2:24 which I can find is that of the English Authorized Version. The Septuagint, Vulgate, and Luther all misconstrue at one or more points; but all come nearer to a correct understanding of the Hebrew than do modern scholars, who, following Wellhausen in one of the moments when he nodded, have continued to wrestle vigorously with difficulties of their own creation. If we but perceive that דָּרֶךְ is adverbial accusative and construct to the compound מְדַבֵּר גִּבְעוֹן, we have no difficulty whatever with the Masoretic text, which there is no reason to believe the Septuagint's Hebrew differed from materially.—There was a well-known road running through the מְדַבֵּר, where the latter was known as מְדַבֵּר גִּבְעוֹן, down to the Arabah, and called דָּרֶךְ מְדַבֵּר גִּבְעוֹן. Along this road lay the town or village of גֵּיחַ, and across the road from it, perhaps some distance back, the height called גִּבְעַת אֲמָה, on one of whose knolls or foot-hills Abner rallied his men for a final stand.

³⁰ II Sam. 4:5; the authentic text is continued with the word וַיִּכְרֹה of verse 7; verse 6, and verse 7 to מִשְׁכָּבוֹ are palpable marginal annotations.

Then, carrying with them the head of Ishbaal, they hasten to David at Hebron, spending the whole night in traveling southward through the Arabah (וילכו דרך הערבה כל הלילה). The character of their burden would admit of no delay. The author does not state at what point of time on the ensuing day they reached Hebron; but it is clear that he wishes us to understand that the time from noon of the first day, when the assassination took place, to evening, when they began their all-night journey through the Ghôr, was spent in traversing the distance between Mahanaim and the Ghôr, where they would presumably cross the Jordan by the same ford that Abner used on his retreat. The time consumed in covering the distance from the Jordan to Mahanaim was therefore, in the opinion of our author, *half a day*.

Judging from the context of the narrative, then, הַבְּחִירֹן is *the half-day*, and, in this particular context, *the forenoon*.

The root of the word בַּחֲרוֹן would of itself have led to the same conclusion. For the verb בָּחַר does not mean to *cleave asunder*, as is assumed in the interpretation *cleft, ravine*,³¹ *valley*, but very distinctly to *cut into two symmetrical halves*: Gen. 15:10, Abram cuts (בָּחַר) the various animals straight through the middle and lays each half (בְּחֵר) over against its mate (רֵעֵהוּ); Jer. 34:18 f., the calf which they divided into two (כִּרְחוּ לִשְׁנַיִם) and passed between its halves (בְּחֵרֵי) . . . all the people of the land that passed between the halves of the calf (בֵּין בְּחֵרֵי הָעֵגֶל). This covers all the occurrences of the root בָּחַר in the Old Testament but one, which will be mentioned below. Etymologically, therefore, הַבְּחִירֹן will be a period of time characterized as *the symmetrical half* of something. But forenoon and afternoon were the only two such periods known to the calendar of the age, which lacked our artificial midnight.³²

As regards the form קִטְלוֹן, I need but point out that it is precisely that which we should expect, by analogy, for such a derivative with specialized connotation. Compare הֶסְרוֹן *deficit*, from הָסַר *lack*; יִתְרוֹן *surplus, profit*, from יָתַר *remainder*; הִיּוֹצֵן

³¹ The exact Hebrew for *cleft, ravine*, is פֶּסְעָה. That הַפֶּסְעָה, whenever it occurs in the Old Testament, is a *ravine* and not a *mountain*, I hope to show in a future paper.

³² חֲצִי הַלַּיְלָה of Ex. 12:29; Judg. 16:3; Ruth 3:8 is not *midnight* in the technical sense, as is assumed by Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, II, p. 4, but merely *the middle of the night*.

exterior, from חוץ *outside*; תוכן *interior*, from תוך *inside*; אַחֲרֵי *last*, from אַחֲרֵי *hinder part*; רִאשֹׁן *first*, from ראש *head*. בַּחֲרוֹן is accordingly essentially an adjectival denominative, derived from בָּחַר (symmetrical) *half*. With the article it becomes idiomatic for the half-day.

As an appellative with this sense בַּחֲרוֹן should be added to our Hebrew lexicography. And II Sam. 2:29 should be rendered: *And Abner and his men marched through the Arabah all that night, then crossed the Jordan, and, marching all the forenoon, arrived at Mahanaim.*

It should be noted, in passing, that the Hebrew has no other means of expressing the idea of *forenoon* or *half-day*. As is correctly emphasized in Brown-Driver-Briggs, בֹּקֶר is never equivalent to our English *morning* in the sense of a period of time.

With this result achieved, some light may perhaps be thrown on the only remaining Old Testament passage that contains the root בָּחַר, Song of Songs 2:17, which, in spite of some fanciful conjectures, has remained completely enigmatical. הָרִי בָּחַר of this passage is seen to be exactly analogous to הָרִי נֶשֶׁף of Jer. 13:16. If in the latter case we have *mountains of twilight*, in the former we probably have *mountains of the (completed) half* = *mountains of noon day* = *mountains at noon time*. The lover is besought not to hurry away, but to linger motionless like the hart upon the mountains in the noonday heat.

Finally, if our conclusions have been correct, we have one important datum toward determining the site of Mahanaim. We know for a certainty that it was a half-day's journey from the Jordan. If Joab took about twelve hours to journey from גִּבְעַת אֶמֶת, in the נִדְבָר facing Gibeon, to Hebron, a distance of some twenty-five to thirty miles, Mahanaim was situated some twelve to fifteen miles on the other side of Jordan, probably in a northeasterly direction from the ford commonly crossed by those journeying thither. The ruins of *Maḥne*, as far as I can judge of their location from Brünnow's map,³³ would comport very well with this conclusion; for, if Abner travelled all night up the Arabah before crossing the Jordan, Mahanaim certainly lay north of the Jabbok.³⁵

³³ In Brünnow and Domascewskl, *Die Provincia Arabia*.

³⁵ Cf. Gen. 32:3, 23.

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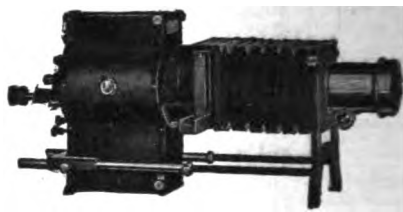
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